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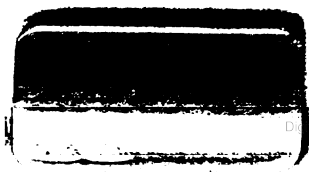
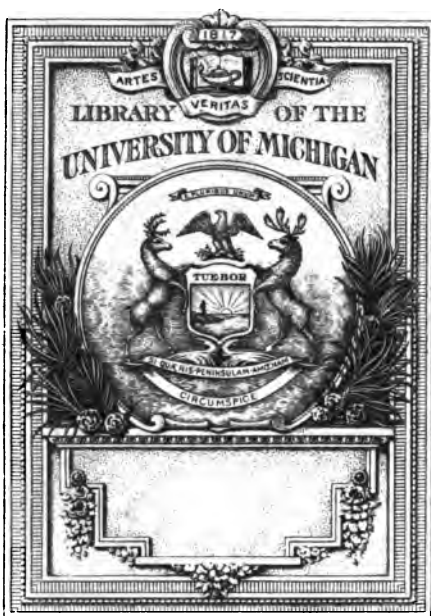
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JOSEPH STONE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and TIMES OF *Cardinal WOLSEY,*

Prime Minister to King HENRY VIII.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>I. Of his Birth, and the various Steps he took to attain Preferment, connected with Affairs, both Foreign and Domestic, from the Death of EDWARD IV. to the End of the Reign of HENRY VII.</p> <p>II. Of his Conduct and Management while Prime Minister, (commencing with the Reign of HENRY VIII.) and continued by way of Annals</p> | <p>to his Disgrace and Death, including the general Transactions of Europe.</p> <p>III. Memoirs of the Emperor CHARLES V. HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I. from the Demise of the Cardinal to their respective Deaths.</p> <p>IV. The secret History of the Cardinal, by <i>George Cavendish, Esq;</i> his Gentleman Usher, written in the Reign of PHILIP and MARY.</p> |
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In which are interperfed

The LIVES and memorable ACTIONS of the most eminent Persons : And the whole illustrated with Political and Moral Reflections.

Collected from ancient RECORDS, MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CIC.

Ob fatal Love of Fame ! Ob glorious Heat !

Only destructive to the Brave and Great,

ADDIS.

VOL. I. Adorn'd with CUTS, and a compleat INDEX.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. PURSER, for the AUTHOR,
And sold by J. STAGG, in *Westminster-Hall*; J. BRINDLEY, in *Bond-street*; R. CHANDLER and C. WARD, at *Temple-Bar*, *York* and *Scarborough*; L. GILLIVER, and J. WHISTON, in *Fleet-street*; J. HUGGONSON, on *Ludgate-Hill*; T. ASTLEY, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*; R. WILLOCK, J. WOOD, J. CLARKE, and W. MEADOWS, in *Cornhill*; and J. WALTHOE, at *Richmond in Surry*. MDCCXLII.





TO THE

Right Honourable

Henry Pelham, Esq;

S I R,



HAVING finished this

First Volume of the

History of the Life and

Times of that great Prelate and

Minister of State, CARDINAL

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WOLSEY,

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35-24-27 M A N

DEDICATION.

WOLSEY, I have presumed to *Dedicate* it to You ; because (Pardon me, if I am mistaken) you seem to have pay'd a most remarkable Regard to his Memory, by preserving, with the greatest Exactness, the Structure and Form of an Antient, Beautiful, and Magnificent Building,* that once had so Eminent a Founder.

THIS is (to me) an evident Demonstration of Your Esteem for that Great Man, and was the Reason of my being ambitious

* At *Essex* in *Surry*.

DEDICATION.

tious to prefix your Honourable Name to this Collection ; hoping it may meet with your favourable Reception, which will certainly give it a considerable Weight with the Publick, and add a singular Pleasure to,

S I R,

Your most Humble, and

Most Obedient Servant,

Richmond, March
25, 1742.

J. G R O V E.



THE P R E F A C E.



HERE is nothing, either more Useful or Entertaining, than to be placed in the great Theatre of human Life, (of which History gives us the most extensive and compleat Representation) and, by beholding herein the great Actions and Engagements, the frequent Calamities and Distresses of others, we may become so cautious and wise, as to shun the Shoals and Rocks on which many have split. It is here, that we see whole Ages exhibited to us in one View ; with the various Operations of mortal Passions ; the different Principles by which our Fellow-Creatures are acted ; the different Objects they are in Pursuit of ; and the different Issues

fues and Events which their Actions at last meet with. It is here, we see the Beginning, the Progress, and the Conclusion of the greatest Empires; and the probable Causes both of their Rise and Declension; both of their Grandeur, and their Ruin; how the haughtiest States and Kingdoms have rose and flourish'd, from the humblest and most uncultivated Simplicity of Life and Manners; and how from these, being grossly corrupted and depraved by Prosperity and Luxury, they have gradually declined, and totally perished. It is History that furnishes us with Examples of all Kinds, and all Qualities, whether indifferent, vicious, or virtuous; that strikes the deepest Impressions on those, who are conscious of its transmitting the Memoirs of their own Management to Posterity; that encourages good Men in Power to be still more useful, and often makes *evil* ones less hurtful to Mankind; while *both* consider, that their Deeds will be soon viewed by the Eyes of the whole World, and Ages to come the Judges, who

who are either to crown them with unfading Honours, or brand them with indelible Ignominy.

It is presum'd that most of these Reflections are relative to such Writings as give us an Account of the Lives of *particular great* Men, who have been remarkable for the high Stations they have fill'd, and the great Scenes of publick, extraordinary Affairs, in which they have been engaged: And therefore we shall make this Application, That when Persons, who preside in any Nation at the Head of publick Business, read the Transactions of those who have moved before them in the like Sphere, they must make a proportionably stronger Impression on their Minds, as they have a more immediate Relation to their Conducts. The Character of a bad Minister, stigmatiz'd in History for giving such Counsels, and pursuing such Measures, as were most injurious to the publick Good, must have a Tendency in it to deter all that are in the same high Trusts, from a shameful Mis-

application of their Talents, and a vile Perversion and Abuse of their Power: Because the same corrupt Principles and Practices must consequently in time render the Lives of such Men equally detestable and reproachful. As, on the contrary, the Life of a good Minister, who was ever heartily zealous in seeking the Welfare of his Country, and ever as active in promoting it, and who had attain'd a Portion of Glory adequate to the Merits of his Services, will help to infuse into the Hearts of others such an Emulation to follow his great Example, as may make their Characters hereafter meet with the same Esteem, and shine with the same Lustre.

The Time Cardinal *Wolsey* lived in was very remarkable for many great and extraordinary Events; so that, to form a true Judgment of the deep Schemes and extensive Views of so penetrating a Genius, especially when he arrived to be *Prime Minister*, we are not only to consider his Conduct, with regard to Affairs at *Home*, but also to the Situation of Things *Abroad*, which a Mini-

Minister certainly should be well acquainted with, and have a strict Eye to; because the Welfare of one Nation can never be rightly establish'd independent of the Felicity of others.

But, to return to our present Undertaking, no Care has been wanting to collect from antient Records, Manuscripts, and Historians, the Materials to compose a full History of this high Prelate and most illustrious Minister, and of the Times in which he lived.

It is probable some may object, that the Insertion of that antient and curious History of the Cardinal, wrote by Mr. *Canvendish*, will make many Parts of this History of him a needless Repetition: To which we Answer, that *his* is inserted by itself, by way of *Notes*, and not intermixed with this in the Body of the Text: So that, by giving Mr. *Canvendish's* History intire, the Reader may see, in the Course of this Work, the new Discoveries that have been made since his Time, both in respect to the Cardinal's *Publick* and *Private* Capacity.

Nor did we think it necessary to confine ourselves so entirely to the History of *the Life and Times of the Cardinal*, as not to introduce, here and there, a *short Account of the Lives of several eminent Men, his Cotemporaries*; for these we conceived, as they were no unnatural, would consequently be no unpleasing Digressions; but rather prove so many Reliefs to the Attention of the Reader, which tires when it is constantly pursuing the same Tract; but, by making now and then an Excursion, is refreshed and entertain'd with some new, unexpected Prospect; and therefore returns with so much the more Pleasure to the Path, from which it had been diverted.

Tho' the general Affairs of *Europe* are interspersed with those of *England, Scotland and Ireland*; yet, as we have kept strictly to Order of Time, and placed the Date of the Year in the Margin, the Reader will not be at a loss for the particular Period treated of.

If it should be asked, why we write the *History of the Life and Times* of this
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 memo-

memorable Statesman, after the former had been penn'd by so learned a Man, and polite a Writer, as Dr. *Fiddes*? we answer, first, because the Doctor himself seemed to hint, that the History of the Affairs of *Europe* ought to accompany that of the *Life* of the Cardinal; which Defect we have here attempted to supply: And next, That we have met with several Pieces relating to Him, which the Doctor, we presume, had never seen; and with many Authentic Circumstances, that are of Moment, and have a Tendency to rescue his, and other Characters from those unfair Misrepresentations, under which they have long laboured, through the Negligence of some Writers, or the Partiality of others, who have given too much into the common Tract of Prejudices, without a just Regard to real historical Truth. Whether, on the other hand, we have been as partial in favouring, as they have been severe in censuring; or, whether we have kept clear of all unreasonable, and unjust Prejudices and Prepossessions, must be left to the Judgment

ment of such Readers, as are themselves void of them.

It is a Qualification most indispensably requisite in an Historian, that he be a Writer of Truth, to which he ought always to pay the strictest Regard in every thing he relates ; that he have no Prejudice to byass him, either for or against the Person whose History he is writing ; that he have not the least Inclination, either to disguise his Vices, or to diminish his Virtues ; either to contract or lessen his Merit, or to magnify and stretch it beyond its just Proportion. It is thro' this Medium we have endeavoured to steer in compiling this History.

For we declare with Mr. *Echard*, “ That
 “ we have used our best Endeavours to
 “ follow the strict Rules of Sincerity
 “ and Judgment, the two superior Guides
 “ to an Historian. As to the former,
 “ which includes or implies Impartia-
 “ lity, we may insist upon *that* without
 “ the Breach of Modesty, and declare
 “ that we are not conscious to ourselves
 “ of any Deviation from Truth and real
 “ Fact.

“ Fact. We are sensible of the mighty
“ Difficulty in some Cases of discovering
“ Truth, and of knowing it when it
“ is discovered ; and therefore beg that
“ some Allowances may be made. For
“ a strict Impartiality is so rare a Qua-
“ lity in some Writers of History, that
“ many are ready to think, that an im-
“ partial Historian is not a Man to be
“ found in the World ; and some car-
“ ry it further, and say, that, consider-
“ ing human Infirmities, it is impossi-
“ ble to be really impartial. But while
“ there are such things in the World
“ as Truth and Honesty, undoubted-
“ ly there may be an impartial Histo-
“ rian, as well as an impartial Judge,
“ who can certainly give Sentence ac-
“ cording to his Conscience and Judg-
“ ment, tho’ contrary to his Desires
“ and Inclinations.”

D I R E C-

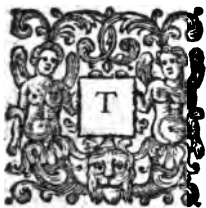
DIRECTION for placing the PLATES.

- 1 The Head of the CARDINAL, to be
Frontispiece.
- 2 — Marquis of DORSET, — Page
- 3 — HENRY VII. — —
- 4 — PERKIN WARBECK, — —
- 5 — CHARLES VIII. King of *France*,
- 6 — CÆSAR BORGIA, — —
- 7 — JAMES IV. King of *Scotland*, [Sig. Mm]
- 8 — COLUMBUS, — —
- 9 View of *Richmond*, and the OLD PALACE,

*There are duplicates
of the plates after 272
the illustrations must be
taken*



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY.



THOMAS WOLSEY ^{1471.*} was born at *Ipswich* in the County of *Suffolk*, in *March*, 1471. But as many Authors have spoke of *Wolsey's* Original and great Abilities, and have differently represented both, we shall, by way of Introduction, mention what several of them relate.—**SPEED** says, *Wolsey's* Parents were poor, but of honest Report.—**GODWIN**, He was born of very mean Parentage, a Butcher's Son of *Ipswich*.—**HALL**, **GRAFTON**, and **HOLLINGSHEAD**, speak of *Wolsey* in the same Words: This Man was born at *Ipswich*, a good Philosopher,

B very

* Memorable for the Introduction of the noble Art and Mystery of PRINTING in *England*.

very eloquent and full of Wit; but for Pride, Covetousness, and Ambition he excelled all others.—STOW, *Wolsey* was but a poor Man's Son of *Ipswich*.—RAPIN, *Wolsey* was a Clergyman eminent for his Merit, tho' but a Butcher's Son of *Ipswich*.—DANIEL, History represents *Thomas Wolsey* to us as one of the most vain, most ambitious, most wicked, and, at the same time, one of the ablest Men of his Age; he was of very mean Birth, but his Genius and Management raised him.—CAMPION, He was a Man undoubtedly born to Honour, some Prince's Bastard, no Butcher's Son.—ECHARD, This extraordinary Person was Son to an honest poor Man of *Ipswich*.—SALMON, *Wolsey* was a Clergyman of a sprightly Genius.—Bishop BURNET does not mention *Wolsey's* Original; he tells us, as a Minister, *Wolsey* was a very extraordinary Person; but, as a Churchman, he was the Disgrace of his Profession.—WOOD observes, That *Thomas Wolsey* was born at *Ipswich*, and says, 'Of all the Clergymen of his Time, as well as before and after him, he was indisputably the greatest: He had a vast Mind, and a great Sense of Regulation and Glory, which by some is construed Pride. His Parts were prodigious, and it must be owned he wanted not a Sense of his own Sufficiency, and therefore his Demeanour and Management of himself were such as were more fitted to the Greatness of his Mind and his Fortune, than to the Meanness of his Birth. Many Historians of that Time, whether out of Envy of his Order, or Contempt of his Birth, or Hatred of his Religion, have not been very favourable to his Fame; and the traditionary Reporters since, who have pretended to an exact Account of his Actions, have, upon too slight Enquiries, and with too great Confidence, transcribed the former Narratives: So that we yet want an exact and faithful History of the greatest, most noble, and most disinterested

! Clergyman

of CARDINAL WOLSEY. 3

‘ Clergyman of that Age.’—The great Lord BACON does not, in his History of *Henry* the VIIth, mention *Wolsey’s* Parents; but only says, *Wolsey* was Chaplain, and employed by *Henry* the VIIth. The various Accounts, that have been given of *Wolsey’s* Original, occasioned one of our *English* Poets to make the following witty Remark :

‘ Great Priest, whoever was thy Sire by Kind,
‘ *Wolsey* of Ipswich ne’er begot thy Mind.

The

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,
by GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq; his Gentleman-
Usher.

CHAP. I.

From the CARDINAL’s Birth, to the Death of King HENRY the VIIth.

TRUTH it is, Cardinal *Wolsey* was an honest poor Man’s Son in the Town of *Ipswich*, in the County of *Suffolk*, and there born, who, being but a Child, was very apt to learn; wherefore, by means of his Parents, and other his good Friends, he was maintained at the University of *Oxford*, where in a short time he prospered so well, that in a small time (as he told me with his own Mouth) he was made a Bachelor of Arts when he was but fifteen Years of Age, and was most commonly called the Boy-Bachelor. Thus, prospering in Learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen* College in

Oxford, after that he was made Master of *Magdalen* School, at which time were the Lord Marquess of *Dorset’s* Sons there at School, committing unto him as well their Education as their Instruction and Learning.

‘ It pleased this Lord Marquess against *Christmas*, to send as well for the School-master as for the Scholars home to his House, for their Recreation in that pleasant and honourable Forest. They being a while there, the Lord Marquess their Father perceiving them to be well improved in Learning for the Time, he was so well contented, that he, having a Benefice in his Gift, (being at that present void) gave the School-master the same, in regard of his Diligence. After

4 The LIFE and TIMES

The Authors we have mentioned having not agreed what *Wolsey's* Father's Profession or Business was, it will be necessary to pursue our Enquiry farther.

Dr. *Fiddes*, who wrote the Cardinal's Life, admits the common Tradition, that *Wolsey* was the Son of a Butcher; but he avers he can discover no more authentick Grounds for such a Tradition; than for the other Report, that his Parents were in mean and indigent

' *Christmas*, at his Departure to
' the University, and he having
' the Presentation thereof, re-
' paired to the Ordinary for his
' Institution: And, being then
' furnished with all his Instru-
' ments at the Ordinary's Hands
' for his Preferment, made haste,
' without any further Delay, to
' his Benefice to take Possession
' thereof. Now you shall un-
' derstand, that the School-master
' had not been long there, but
' one Sir *Amias Pawlet*, Kt.
' dwelling in the Country therea-
' bouts, took an Occasion of Dis-
' pleasure against him, but upon
' what ground I know not; in-
' somuch that Sir *Amias* was so
' bold as to lay the School-master
' by the Heels during his Dis-
' pleasure, which Affront was af-
' terwards neither forgotten, nor
' forgiven; for when the School-
' master mounted so high as to be
' Lord Chancellor of *England*,
' he was not forgetful of his old
' Displeasure, most cruelly mi-
' nistred unto him by Sir *Amias*,
' but sent for him, and after a
' very sharp Reproof, enjoined
' him not to depart out of *Lon-*
' *don*, without Licence first ob-
' tained; so that he continued in
' the *Middle-Temple* the space of
' five or six Years; who after-

' wards lay in the *Gate-house*
' next the Stairs, which he re-
' edified, and sumptuously beau-
' tified the same all over on the
' Outside, with the Cardinal's
' Arms, his Hat, his Cogni-
' zance and Badges, with other
' Devices, in so glorious a man-
' ner, as he thought thereby to
' have appeased his old Displea-
' sure.

' This may be a good Prece-
' dent for Men in Authority,
' which work their own Wills
' without Wit, to remember that
' Greatness may decay. And
' those whom they do punish,
' more of Humour than Justice,
' may afterwards be advanced to
' great Honour, (as this Cardinal
' was) and they abased as low as
' this Sir *Amias* was, which seek
' Revenge. Who would have
' thought, that when Sir *Amias*
' *Pawlet* punished this poor
' School-master, that ever he
' should have mounted to so great
' a Dignity as to be Chancellor
' of *England*, considering his
' mean Parentage and Friends?
' These be the wonderful Works
' of God's Providence. And I
' would wish, that all Men in
' Authority would fear God in
' all Ages in the Time of their
' Triumph and Greatness; con-
' sidering

gent Circumstances; notwithstanding several Authors have related it, yet that learned Divine does not inform us what Business *Wolsey's* Father followed, or professed, save what he gathered from some of the before-mentioned Authors.

Still it is allowed, the Doctor has gone farther than any other Author, in respect to his opposing what

considering that Advancement and Authority are not permanent, but many times slide and vanish suddenly away, as Princes Pleasures alter and change, or as all living Creatures must of Necessity pay the Debt due to Nature, which no earthly Creature can resist.

Shortly after it chanced the said Lord Marquess died, after whose Decease the Schoolmaster thinking himself but a weak beneficed Man, and that he had left his Fellowship in the College, for (as I understand) if a Fellow of that House be once promoted to a Benefice, he shall by the Rules of the same House be dismissed of his Fellowship; and now being also destitute of his singular good Lord, as well as of his Fellowship, which was most of his Relief, thought long to be provided of some other Help to defend him from all such Storms as he might meet with. In his Travel thereabouts he grew acquainted with a very great and ancient Knight, who had a great Place in *Calais*, under King *Henry* the VIIth. This Knight he served, and behaved himself so discreetly, that he obtained the especial Favour

of his said Master; insomuch, that for his Wit and Gravity he committed all the Care and Charge of his said Office to his said Chaplain. And, as I understand, his Office was the Treasurership of *Calais*, who, in regard of his great Age, shortly after was discharged of his said Office, and so returned into *England*, intending to live a more private Life. But, through his instant Labour and good Favour, his Chaplain was preferred to be the King's Chaplain: And when he had once cast Anchor in the Port of Promotion, how he then bestirred himself I shall now declare.

He having then just Occasion to be daily in Sight of the King in his Closet, not spending the rest of the Day in Idleness, would attend those Men whom he thought to bear most Rule in the Council, and were most in Favour with the King, which at that time was Dr. *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Privy-Seal; and also Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Kt. a very sage and wise Counsellor, being Master of the Wards, and Constable of the Tower.

These ancient and grave Counsellors, in Process of Time,

6 The LIFE and TIMES

what has been so often advanced by different Historians, as to *Wolsey's* Father being a Butcher and poor, and for that End he mentions a Will, said to be made by *Robert*, the Father; the Substance of which here follows,

Item,

perceiving this Chaplain to be a Man of a very acute Wit, thought him a meet Instrument to be employed in greater Affairs.

Not long after it happened, that the King had an urgent Occasion to send an Ambassador to *Maximilian* the Emperor, who lay at that present in the *Low Countries* at *Flanders*, and not far from *Calais*.

Now the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, whom the King most esteemed, as the chiefest of his Council, one Day, advising and debating with themselves upon this Embassage, and by this time they saw they had a convenient Occasion to prefer the King's Chaplain, whose excellent Eloquence and Learning they highly commended unto the King's Highness, who giving ear unto them, and being a Prince of an excellent Judgment and Modesty, he commanded them to bring his Chaplain (whom they so commended) before his Grace; and, being come, his Majesty (to prove his Ability) entered into Discourse with him, concerning Matters of State, whereby the King had so well informed himself, that he found him to be a Man of a sharp Wit, and of such excellent Parts, that he thought him worthy to be put

in trust with Matters of greater Consequence.

The King, being now resolved to imploy him in this Embassage, commanded him thereupon to prepare himself for his Journey; and, for his Dispatch, wished him to repair to his Grace and his Council, of whom he should receive his Commission and Instruction. By means whereof he had then a fit Occasion to repair from time to time into the King's Presence, who had thereby daily Experience of his singular Wisdom and sound Judgment. Thus having his Dispatch, he took his Leave of the King at *Richmond*, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, where he launcheth forth in a *GraveSEND* Barge with a prosperous Wind and Tide; and his happy Speed was such, that he arrived at *GraveSEND* in a little more than three Hours, where he tarried no longer than the Post-horses were provided, and he travelled so speedily, that he came to *Dover* next Morning, where the Passengers were under Sail to pass to *Calais*; so that long before Noon he arrived there, and, having Post-horses prepared, departed from thence without tarrying, making such hasty Speed, that he was that Night with the Emperor: Who, understanding of the

Item, I will, that if Thomas my Son be a Priest within a Year next after my Decease, then I will that he sing for me and my Friends by the Space of a Year, and he to have for his Salary ten Marks; and if Thomas my Son be not a Priest, then I will that another honest Priest sing for me and my Friends for the Term aforesaid, and he to have the Salary of ten Marks.

Item, I will that Joan my Wife have all my Lands and Tenements in the Parish of St. Nicholas in Ipswich, and my free and Bond Lands in the Piche of St. Stoke. The Residue of my Goods, not bequeathed, I give and bequeath to Joan my Wife, Thomas my Son, and Thomas Cady, who I make Executors of this my Testament, and do order Richard Farrington Superbisoz thereof.

“ This

“ the Arrival of the King of England's Embassador, would in no wise delay Time, but sent for him incontinently; for his Affection to the King of England was such, that he was glad of any Opportunity to do him a Courtesy.

“ The Embassador declares the Sum of his Embassy to the Emperor, of whom he craved speedy Expedition, which was granted him; so that the next Day he was clearly dispatched, and all the King's Requests fully accomplished and granted. At which Time he made no further Stay, but took Post-horses that Night, and rode without Intermission to Calais, being conducted thither by divers Nobles appointed by the Emperor; and at the opening of the Gates of Calais he came thither, where the Passengers were ready to return for England; insomuch that he arrived at Dover between Ten and Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon.

“ And, having Post-horses in Readiness, came to the Court at Richmond that same Night, where (taking his Repose until Morning) he presented himself unto his Majesty at his first coming out of his Bed-chamber to his Closet to Mass, whom, when he saw, he checked for that he was not in his Journey. “ Sir, (quoth he) *If it may please your Highness, I have already been with the Emperor, and dispatched your Affairs, I trust to your Grace's Contentation*: And thereupon presented the King with his Letters of Credence from the Emperor, The King wondering at his speedy Return, (he being so well furnished with all his Proceedings) for the present dissembled his Admiration and Imagination in that Matter; and demanding of him, whether he encountered with his Pursuivant, which he sent unto him with Letters, imagining him to be scarce out of London, which concerned very material Passa-

8 *The* **LIFE and TIMES**

‘ This Will (says *Fiddes*) of *Robert Wolsey* of *Ips-*
 ‘ *wich* is dated *September* the 21st, in the Year 1496,
 ‘ and the Reference in it to his Son *Thomas*, who is
 ‘ supposed to have been bred a Scholar, and designed
 ‘ for a Priest, renders it not so much probable as a
 ‘ Matter past all Doubt, (if we may judge from the
 ‘ Circumstance of Time and Place, and from the
 ‘ Agreement of Names and personal Characters) that
 ‘ this *Robert* was, in Fact, the Father of *Thomas*, after-
 ‘ wards Cardinal *Wolsey*; who, as he had no Eccle-
 ‘ siastical Preferment till the Time of his being insti-
 ‘ tuted

‘ ges, which were omitted in
 ‘ their Consultation, which the
 ‘ King earnestly desired should
 ‘ have been dispatched in his
 ‘ Embassy.

‘ Yes, *forsooth*, (quoth he) I
 ‘ met with him Yesterday by the
 ‘ Way; and tho’ I had no Know-
 ‘ ledge thereof, yet notwithstanding I have been so bold (upon
 ‘ my own Discretion) perceiving
 ‘ the Matter to be very necessary,
 ‘ in that Behalf I dispatched the
 ‘ same. And forasmuch as I have
 ‘ been so bold to exceed my Com-
 ‘ mission, I most humbly crave
 ‘ your Royal Remission and Pardon.

‘ The King, inwardly rejoic-
 ‘ ing, replied, *We do not only par-*
 ‘ *don you, but give you our Princely*
 ‘ *Thanks, both for your good Ex-*
 ‘ *ploit, and happy Expedition.*
 ‘ And dismissed him for that
 ‘ present, and bad him return to
 ‘ him again after Dinner, for a
 ‘ further Relation of his Embas-
 ‘ sage, and so the King went to
 ‘ Mass.

‘ It is not to be doubted, but
 ‘ this Ambassador had all this
 ‘ while visited his great Friends,
 ‘ the Bishop of *Winchester*, and
 ‘ Sir *Thomas Lovell*, to whom he

‘ had declared the Effect of his
 ‘ Embassy; and also his Maje-
 ‘ sty’s Commendations of him,
 ‘ did not a little rejoice the wor-
 ‘ thy Counsellors, forasmuch as
 ‘ he was of their Preferment.
 ‘ And shortly after, the King
 ‘ gave him for his diligent Ser-
 ‘ vice the Deanery of *Lincoln*,
 ‘ which was in those Days one
 ‘ of the greatest Promotions he
 ‘ gave under the Degree of a Bi-
 ‘ shop. And he grew more and
 ‘ more in Estimation and Autho-
 ‘ rity, and was afterwards pro-
 ‘ moted to be Almoner.

‘ Now not long after, when
 ‘ Death (that favoureth no Estates,
 ‘ nor King, nor Kesar) had taken
 ‘ away the wise King *Henry* the
 ‘ VIIth out of this present Life;
 ‘ it was a wonder to see what
 ‘ Practices and Devices were then
 ‘ used, about the young Prince
 ‘ *Henry* the VIIIth; the great
 ‘ Provision that was then made
 ‘ for the Funeral of the one, and
 ‘ for the Coronation of the other,
 ‘ by the now Queen *Catherine*,
 ‘ and Mother after the Queen’s
 ‘ Highness that now is, whose
 ‘ virtuous Life Jesu long pre-
 ‘ serve,

‘ tuted to the Rectory of *Lymington* in the Year 1500,
 ‘ may very well be presumed to have taken Orders
 ‘ shortly after the Date of this Will, being at the
 ‘ Time when it was executed in the 25th Year of
 ‘ his Age; besides, had there been any other *Wolsey*
 ‘ designed for holy Orders, of the same Name, Place,
 ‘ and Age with the Cardinal, it is highly credible
 ‘ some Account of him would have been preserved in
 ‘ History, or by Tradition, by reason of his having
 ‘ at least some distant Relation in these several Re-
 ‘ spects to so very eminent a Person; in all Probabi-
 ‘ lity he had neither Brother nor Sister then living,
 ‘ there being no mention of other Children, nor the
 ‘ least Provision made in the Will for any.’

It is now generally believed, from what Dr. *Fiddes* has advanced, that this *Robert* was *Wolsey*’s Father; if so, and we reflect that he was seized of several Estates, which, at that Time in the Possession of a Plebeian, were very considerable, we may infer, *Wolsey*’s Father was not so poor and mean as represented, nor do we find any one good Authority that proves him a Butcher’s Son; for, if we compare the Accounts of several Authors, that have wrote concerning *Wolsey*’s Original (some of which we have before mentioned) with what we have transcribed from Dr. *Fiddes*, it seems reasonable to believe, that those Authors have taken up their Accounts one from the other, without examining into the Justness of the Relation. In fine, upon a new and strict Enquiry, several Gentlemen in *Suffolk* are of Opinion, that *Wolsey*’s Father was in truth a reputable Grazier in the Town of *Ipswich*, and not a Butcher, and poor, as many have asserted.

But could the Relators, who have reported *Wolsey* as a poor Butcher’s Son, support what they have alledged by some good Authority, it was highly commendable in his Father, that he encouraged his Son’s Inclination for Learning, by sending him to School,
 instead

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instead of putting him to a mean Trade, the latter being the most natural to be expected from a Person in so low a Station.

However it is agreed, after *Wolsey* had been at a Grammar School, he was sent to *Oxford*, and placed in *Magdalen* College, famous for breeding Men of sound Learning. Here *Wolsey*, at Fifteen, was made Batchelor of Arts, and from thence called the *Boy Batchelor*; he was soon distinguished in that University for the extraordinary Progress he had made in Logick and Philosophy, nor was he less remarkable for his Learning in Divinity, which he principally acquired by early reading the Works of *Thomas Aquinas*.

For the present, we shall leave *Wolsey* at *Oxford* to pursue his Studies, and lay before the Reader the History of the Affairs of *Europe* from the Death of *Edward* the IVth, interspersed with *Wolsey's* Life to the End of the Reign of *Henry* the VIIth; and from that Period we intend to continue the Remainder of the Work, by way of Annals, to the Cardinal's Death.

Edward the IVth died on the 11th of 1483. *Affairs of England.* April, 1483, and was succeeded by his eldest Son *Edward* the Vth, at the Age of twelve Years, but was never crowned, *Edward the Vth.*

being soon removed by the wicked Practices of his ambitious Uncle *Richard*, surnamed *Crouchback*; Duke of *Gloucester*. As he had only two Nephews, this King, and *Richard* his Brother, in the way to bar him of the Crown, he immediately formed a Project to get rid of them both. First, he got the Protectorship from the Lord *Rivers*, the King's Uncle by the Mother's Side, whom he seized, and sent him, with the Lord *Grey* and two Knights, Prisoners to *Pontefract* Castle, and placed his own Creatures about the King. Next, he got into his Clutches *Richard*, the King's Brother. (It is true, the Queen his Mother with great Reluctancy parted with him.) Having thus far succeeded in his wicked Design, to blind the People,

People, he forthwith gave Orders for the King's Coronation. In the mean time he secretly contrived with the Duke of *Buckingham* to fix the Crown upon his own Head, and for that Purpose he took care to dismiss all the old Ministers from their Posts, except the Lord *Hastings*, who was continued Lord Chamberlain, tho' he believed him to be a fast Friend to the King. After he had modelled the Council to his Liking, he prevailed on them to consent, that the Earl of *Rivers*, and the rest of the Prisoners at *Pontefract* Castle should lose their Heads: Accordingly an Order was sent down to Sir *Richard Radcliffe*, the Governor, to see the Execution performed.

A few Days after, *Richard* called a secret Council of his Creatures, who agreed in Opinion, that the Protector would more easily succeed in his Project, in case he could draw the Lord *Hastings* from the King's Interests; but, he being found immoveable, his Ruin was resolved on, and effected in the following Manner. A Council was held on the 13th of *June* in the Tower, where *Hastings* attended, and *Gloucester* came to them about Nine in the Morning, seemed extremely merry, and soon left the Room, desiring they would proceed in their Consultations without him. About an Hour after he returned frowning, and a time remained silent; and when he spoke, he demanded in an angry Tone, *What Punishment they deserved, who had conspired against his Life?* It was answered, They ought to be punished as Traytors. *Gloucester* then named the Queen and *Shore's* Wife as the principal Parties concerned: *Hastings* (who had taken the latter to his Bed) replied, *If they had been guilty of such Practices they deserved to be severely punished.—Dost thou answer me with Ifs and Ands?* says the Protector. *I tell thee they are guilty, and that I will make it good upon thy Body, Traytor!* *Gloucester* had no sooner uttered the last Expression, than a Cry of Treason was heard without, and a Company of armed Men rushed into the Council Chamber,

ber, one of whom wounded the Lord *Stanley*. Then the Protector ordered *Hastings*, *Stanley*, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, to be taken into Custody, and, leaving the Council Chamber abruptly, declared, He would not dine till *Hastings's* Head was struck off. In brief, he was hurried to the *Tower-green*, and, being allowed only Time to make a short Confession to a Priest, was there beheaded, at the very Instant the Earl of *Rivers*, the Lord *Grey*, and others, were executed at *Pontefract*, in the same illegal Manner; to whose Deaths the Lord *Hastings* had consented, which occasioned Sir *Walter Raleigh* to say, 'That a greater Judgment than this upon *Hastings* he had never observed in Story.'

Gloucester, the better to put a Colour upon the barbarous Murder of *Hastings*, as soon as he had dined, sent in all Haste for several substantial Citizens to come to him in the Tower; and, against their Coming, he and his Agent *Buckingham* harnessed themselves in old rusty Armour, as tho' some sudden and imminent Danger had necessitated them thereunto for their own Defence: When the Citizens were introduced, he told them, 'That the Lord *Hastings*, and others of his Party had formed a Plot, to destroy him and *Buckingham* that Forenoon as they sat at Council; that he had not the least Notice of it till Ten of the Clock the same Day; and, to prevent so dangerous a Conspiracy taking place, he had caused *Hastings's* Head to be struck off.' The Citizens were greatly surprized at hearing what his Highness related, expressed their Joy to find him safe, and congratulated him upon his discovering the Conspiracy: Which *Gloucester* received with many Thanks; afterwards they retired to their respective Houses. *Richard*, the better to persuade the People into a Belief of the Conspiracy, caused an Herald at Arms to proclaim it through the City, and commanded the Sheriffs of *London* to repair to *Jane Shore's* House, and dispossess

her of all her Effects; and at last procured the Bishop to make her do Penance, for her former Dalliance with *Edward* the IVth.

These sudden and violent Proceedings so terrified both the Nobility and Gentry, that no one durst move his Head or Tongue against the Administration. *Richard* now thought it a proper Time to declare, that he had a Title to the Crown; which he had no sooner done, but *Buckingham* pressed him to mount the Throne, and took upon himself to manage the Citizens of *London*, which he so effectually did, that thro' his Artifice they were drawn in at last to acknowledge *Richard* King of *England*; and, at the same time, the late King and his Issue were represented to the People as spurious: So that the young King reigned but three Months, and, during most part of that Time he and his Brother *Richard*, Duke of *York*, continued in the *Tower*, and soon after they fell a Victim to their cruel Uncle.

Richard the III^d, pretending a Right to the Crown both by Descent and the Election of the People, was proclaimed King on the 22^d of *June*. He began his Reign in granting a general Pardon to his Subjects, very few excepted; sat once in the Court of *King's-Bench*, and ordained the Knights of the *Bath*; the Lord *Stanley* he not only set at Liberty, but made him Steward of his Household; *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, he caused to be delivered into the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his House at *Brecknock*. On the 6th of *July* he was crowned at *Westminster*, in greater State than any King had been before him; nor did there appear a Murmur or melancholy Look to interrupt the Solemnity: After which Ambassadors were sent Abroad to different Courts to notify his Accession to the Throne.

When King *Edward* was told, by one of *Gloucester's* Creatures, that his Uncle had left the Title

Richard
the III^d.
1483.

of

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of Protector, and taken that of King, he answer'd, *I would to God my Uncle would let me have my Life, tho' I lose my Kingdom:* To which the Party replied, *There was no doubt of it.* However, both his and his Brother's Attendance were immediately reduced to six Persons. After which the young King never minded, nor regarded himself in the least; but, with his Brother, linger'd out the short Remainder of their Days. In the interim, *Richard* spent part of his Time in consulting with *James Tyrrell*, one of his Domesticks, to find out the most private Way to destroy them; at last it was agreed to get them murdered in their Bed, and *Tyrrell* undertook to see it perform'd; The King upon this Occasion gave special Orders to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to let *Tyrrell*, and others with him, go in and out of that Place, either by Day or by Night, as he should request. When this Point was settled, *Tyrrell* employed two Wretches under him, *Miles Forest*, one of the Persons that attended, or rather guarded the young Princes, and *John Dighton*, his Horse-keeper: These Villains soon learnt the Part they were to act, and, according to *Tyrrell's* Directions, entered the Princes Chamber about Midnight, where, finding them asleep, they wrapped them up in their Bed-clothes, and stifled them. Thus returned their innocent Souls into the Hands of God, from whom they received them, and were, as some say, buried by the Murderers under the Stairs in the *Tower*; but, as others relate, they were rolled up in Lead, put into a Coffin full of Holes, and thrown into *Tower-ditch*.

As soon as *Richard* was informed, that the Children were dispatched, he caused it to be spread abroad, that they died suddenly; but there were none, even at that Time, that believed any other, than that they were destroyed, tho' they did not know in what Manner. The Queen and her Friends greatly bewailed their untimely

timely End, and cried to God for Vengeance on the Murderers.* A Reverend and Learned Divine,† on a like Occasion, breaks out into these Expressions.

*Find him, ye Ministers of Vengeance, find
The Murderer, in Mercy to Mankind.
O Earth discover him ! ye rolling Floods
Tell it in Murmurs ; hide him not ye Woods.
The Earth is burthen'd till he meets his Fate,
And groans and labours with the Villain's Weight.
Behold the Good, the Pious, and the Fair,
————— plung'd in deep Despair.*

After the Tragedy we have been speaking of was performed, *Richard* repaired to *Gloucester*, accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, where they seemingly appeared to be the same intimate Friends as before. When the King left *Gloucester*, *Buckingham* retired to his House at *Brecknock*. From that Time the Duke conceived a great Displeasure against the King, the Cause whereof is differently ascribed by Historians. As soon as the Duke came home, he entered into Discourse with the Bishop of *Ely* concerning the State of Affairs, and desired him to speak his Mind freely ; on which the Bishop in general answered, ' He loved not to talk with Princes, for that it was ' not very safe so to do, since the Words that are ' spoken, tho' they be innocent in themselves, yet ' they may be taken in what Sense the Prince pleases ' to construe them to the Destruction of the Speaker.'

In short, before the Bishop quitted the Duke's Company, he perceived, that he had harboured an irreconcilable Enmity against the Usurper. He then delivered himself freely, and endeavoured to render
the

* *Forest* rotted away by Piece-meals ; *Digby*, after he had lived for some time despised, died mi-

serable at *Calais* ; *Tyrell* was beheaded, and the cruel Tyrant, *Richard*, was killed in Battle.

† Dr. TRAPP'S POEM upon the PEACE. 1713. P. 27.

the Tyrant as odious as possible in his Eyes. The Bishop begged the Duke, ' for God and his Country's Sake, to contrive some Way to rid the Nation of so barbarous a Prince, and restore it to its former Peace and Tranquillity.' The Duke promised he would not be wanting therein, and, to convince the Bishop he was in earnest, he entered into a Confederacy against the King in Favour of *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, who was then in *Brittany*, and claimed the Crown,* as Heir of the House of *Lancaster*. *Richard* was soon informed, that the Duke was plotting Mischief against him, whereupon he sent for *Buckingham* to Court, under Pretence he stood in great need of his Counsel: But his Grace, mistrusting his smooth Words, replied, ' He was sickly, and not able to travel, and humbly desired to be excused.' *Richard* sent again, and commanded him to come. The Duke, seeing there was no putting him off any longer, sent this resolute Answer, ' That he would not come to his mortal Enemy.'

As soon as *Buckingham* had returned this last Answer, he drew the Forces together, which himself and his Friends had privately lifted in *Wales*, and declared for the Earl of *Richmond*: He marched at their Head towards *Salisbury*, intending to have passed into *Cornwall*, where he expected he should have met the Earl. At the same Time other Noblemen were employed in raising Troops in different Parts,

* *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, was descended from Lady *Margaret*, only Daughter to the first Duke of *Somerset*, and Grand-daughter to *John* of *Gaunt*, Father to King *Henry* the IVth. In *Edward* the IVth's Time the Earl retired into *Brittany*, which gave the King so much Uneasiness (being well acquainted with his great Qualities) that he used his utmost Endeavours with the Duke of

Brittany to get him delivered up, but in vain: Yet, as that Duke did not care to break with *Edward*, he promised not to suffer him to go out of his Territories; and he kept his Word during his Reign; by which Means *Richmond* continued as a Prisoner in *Brittany*, yet always met with good Treatment, and the Respect due to his illustrious Birth.

- Parts, in order to assist *Buckingham* : But the Duke's Design miscarried ; for the King was no sooner informed of what had passed, than he instantly marched against him, whose Forces were most of them *Welch* ; who, for want of Pay and Provisions, before any of the other Party arrived, broke up their Camp, and left the Duke to shift for himself ; which, when the rest of the Confederates understood, they likewise dispersed themselves. The Duke in Disguise got to his Servant *Banister's* House near *Sbrewsbury*, where he thought himself safe ; but *Richard*, upon the Duke's Flight, issued a Proclamation, promising 1000*l.* Reward to any one that would discover him ; and *Banister*, for the Sake of the Reward, basely betrayed his Master into his Enemy's Hands, who caused his Head to be cut off without any Trial, or shewing the least Regard to his former Services. On this, Bishop *Morton* made his Escape into *Brittany*.

Whilst *Buckingham* was acting for the Earl of *Richmond* in *England*, the Earl obtained so much Credit with the Duke of *Brittany*, that he was pleased not only to grant him his Liberty, (which he had been for some time deprived of) but also Assistance, (so as to enable him to pass into *England*) consisting of 15 Vessels, and 5000 Men, with which Forces he departed from *St. Malo* on the 12th of *October*. In his Passage he met with a violent Storm, wherein he had like to have perished : This Accident was the Means of saving his Life ; for (*Richard* having discovered *Buckingham's* Conspiracy, and dissipated, the Earl's Party in *England*) if he had landed, he would, in all Probability, have fallen into his Hands.

On his Return he put in at *Dieppe*, and went by Land to *Brittany*, where Matters were greatly altered with respect to his Situation, tho' they had still the same outward Appearance ; for *Richard*, upon this Occasion, sent an Agent into *Brittany*, where he so

well acted his Part, that he prevailed with *Lana* the Duke's chief Minister, upon certain Conditions to deliver the Earl up; but, just as he was at Point of doing it, *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, accidentally discovered the Plot, and gave him Notice of it, who, upon receiving this extraordinary News, immediately quitted *Rennes*, the Place of Residence, in Disguise, and gained the Frontier *France*. So lucky was his Escape, that he had been missing above an Hour, before *Landois* Troops after him with Orders to seize him. *Richmond* soon after repaired to the Court of *France* where he was graciously received by King *Charles* the VIIIth; and with this memorable Event shall conclude the Year 1483.

Richard being disappointed this grand Point, in order to cure himself at Home, he called a Parliament, which met on the 1st of *January*: The first Business proceeded with was to pass an Act to declare the King's Right to the Crown, and the late King *Edward* the IVth's Children illegitimate; then they passed an Act of Attainder against *Richard* Earl of *Richmond*, and all his Adherents, by Virtue whereof their Estates were declared forfeited to the King; and the other Acts pass'd were,*—to attend *Richmond*,

* I. That the Subjects of *England* should not thereafter be taxed with the *Benevolence*; and that those Exactions, before that Time taken, should be no Example to make such, or any such like Charges on the Subject; and that, as this Law says, it shall be damned and annulled for the future.

II. That Justices may let a Prisoner to Bail, charged with a Suspicion of Felony, and that

no Officer shall seize the Person of a Prisoner until convicted, or otherwise forfeited.

III. To settle what Persons shall have in Free or Copyhold Lands, who shall be on Juries, which have been much alter'd since the late that Law.

IV. As to Fines levied in the Court of Common-Pleas, to settle to who should be bound to pay such Fines, and who not.

After the Earl had been some Time at the *French Court*, he received Assurances from *England*, that his Party had recovered their lost Spirits, were greatly encreased, and that the King, by his cruel Proceedings, rendered himself every Day more odious to his People than before, which encouraged the Earl, in the Beginning of this Year, to solicit the Court of *France* for Assistance, and with much Difficulty he obtained an Aid of between two and 3000 Men, with some Vessels; but, before he could get Matters ripe for his intended Expedition, it was the End of *July*.

On the first of *August* he set Sail from *Havre*, and soon arrived at *Milford-haven* in *Wales*, where his Adherents came in great Numbers to join him. At this Place he mustered his Army, and from thence marched to *Skrewsbury* in the following Order.

Henry placed the Archers in the Front, of whom he made Captain *John* Earl of *Oxford*, gave the Command of the right Wing to *Sir Gilbert Talbot*, and the left to *Sir John Savage*, reserving to himself, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Command of the whole Army.

In the mean time the Lord *Stanley*, and *Sir William*, his Brother, were employed in raising Forces in *Warwickshire*, under a Shew of supporting the King's Interest; but the *Stanleys* real Design was to assist the Earl in his Pretensions to the Crown, which they took care to let him know before he quitted *France*. From *Skrewsbury* the Earl marched to *Litchfield*, and was there received as King.

Richard kept his Court at *Nottingham*. When the Earl landed in *Wales* his Forces were represented to him as very inconsiderable, and unprovided of all Things necessary for the Enterprize, which occasioned the King to say, ' That he looked upon it as a mere Trifle, not worthy to be minded; that the Earl was misled and childish in attempting the Conquest of

‘ such a Kingdom with so thin and despicable an Army ; and that, when it came to the Point, that he should be compelled to fight against his Will, he would be either taken alive, or slain in the Field.’

Richard was answered by some of his Friends, who looked upon the Earl’s Expedition in a quite different Light, ‘ That great Things were often attempted with small Beginnings ; that this War, which he thought so inconsiderable now, might, if neglected, grow greater, and prove more fatal than he imagined.’

Richard was roused at this Reply, and instantly writ to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surry*, *Catesby*, and several other Noblemen and Gentlemen, whom he thought he could trust, directing them to raise all the Forces they could, and repair to him forthwith. Soon after he received the unwelcome News, that the Earl was advanced beyond *Shrewsbury*, intending to march directly to *London*, *Richard* was so grieved and enraged, that he imprecated Vengeance upon those, who, contrary to their Oaths and Promises, had thus deceived him ; and became so distrustful of others, that he resolved to advance against his Rival himself, immediately sent away some to learn where he was, and observe his Motions ; and understanding by them, that the Earl was incamped at *Litchfield*, he advanced towards him in the Manner following : First, he caused his Men to advance four and four in a Rank ; after them the Carriages, then his Satellites and Yeomen of the Crown, who being all passed, himself, with a frowning Countenance, and dreadful Aspect, mounted on a stately white Courser, followed with his Footmen ; the Wings of his Horsemen ranging themselves on each Side of him ; he came to *Leicester* on the 21st of *August*, about Sun-set, and entered the Town in great Pomp and Splendor.

Henry, hearing of *Richard*’s Resolution, raised his Camp, and marched towards him ; and in his Progress met with an odd Adventure. The Lord *Stanley* had promised

to assist the Earl; but, as he had not heard from him since his Arrival in *England*, all of a sudden he became melancholy and pensive, musing with himself as he passed on, what was best to be done; and lingered so long behind, that, by Reason of his Distance from the Army, and the Darkness of the Night, he could not see which Way to follow them. Whereupon, after he had in vain wandered several Ways, in Hopes of finding them, he retired to a little Village, about three Miles from his Army, accompanied only with three Horsemen, where he tarried all Night, not daring to ask any Questions, lest he should be discovered and betrayed; nor was he less perplexed in the Morning, for fear of being intercepted by some of *Richard's* Scouts; and, in the Interim, his Friends were as much amazed and troubled at his Absence as himself.

The Earl getting safe to his Camp, his principal Officers congratulated him upon his Return in Safety; but he prudently concealed the real Cause of his staying behind; telling them, 'That he went out of the Way on purpose to hear glad Tidings from his Friends.' In his March he received a Letter from the Lord *Stanley*, wherein he acquainted him where he was, and renewed his former Promise, which was so acceptable to the Earl, that that Evening he again left his Army, and privately met the Lord *Stanley*, in a little Field near the Town of *Atherstone* in *Warwickshire*. After mutual Embraces, the Earl consulted with him in respect to giving *Richard* Battle, and then parted.

Richard stayed but one Night at *Leicester*, continuing his March till he came near *Bosworth*; where, receiving Advice that the Enemy was not far off, he drew up his Army in a fine Plain, and there made a Stand; and about the same Time the Earl of *Richmond* entered the same Plain, and drew up his Army in Battle Array.

While these Armies stood viewing each other, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother appeared, and posted their Troops between both, which gave *Richmond* no Uneasiness, by reason he had been fully satisfied, that they would support him; which the King was ignorant of; and, believing that the *Stanleys* were in his Interest, sent to Lord *Stanley* to join him, who answered, *He would come when he saw fit*. This Answer displeased the King, who now looked upon *Stanley* as his Enemy; therefore was for taking immediate Revenge, by cutting off his Son's Head, (who was then in his Camp, having been delivered to *Richard* as a Pledge for his Father's Fidelity) but, as the two Armies were so near each other, some of *Richard's* Friends begged him not to do it; and told him, no Time was to be lost in taking a private Revenge, Matters of greater Consequence being then depending. In fine, he took their Advice, by which Means this young * Lord's Life was saved, and after the Battle he was restored to his Father.

Between both Armies there was a great Marsh, which the Earl kept on the left Hand, that it might defend him on that Side, and that he might have the Sun on his Back, which then of course would be in the Face of his Enemy.

Hollingshead, according to the Manner of the Historians at that Time, recites two long Speeches, said to be made by *Richard* and the Earl to their respective Armies, and then he breaks out into the following Expressions: ' Lord, how hastily the Soldiers buckled their Heals; how quickly the Archers bent their Bows, and frushed their Feathers; how readily the
* Bill-

* He was Lord *Strange*. His Grace the Duke of *Albion*, one of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, on the Death of the late Earl of *Derby*, made out his Right to the said Barony, as Great-grandson, and sole Heir of *James* Lord

Strange, afterwards Earl of *Derby*; who was summoned to Parliament by that Name, in the 3d Year of the Reign of King *Charles* the 1st; and his Grace has accordingly taken his Seat in the House of Peers, as Lord *Strange*.

‘ Bill-men shook their Bills, and proved their Staves,
 ‘ ready to approach and join, when the terrible Trumpet
 ‘ should sound the bloody Blast to Victory or Death.’

In short, the Soldiers shouted, and the King’s Archers courageously let fly their Arrows, nor did the Earl’s Bow-men stand idle, but returned them again with equal Fury; which being over, the Armies joined, and came to handy Strokes, wherein neither Sword nor Bill were spared. The Earl also was so vigorously charged by *Richard* in Person, that his Troops began to give Ground, and himself was in no little Danger: The King, having discovered him in the Field, rode directly to him, and came so near as to kill Sir *William Brandon*, his Standard-bearer, and dismount Sir *John Cheyney*, one of the strongest Knights in the Earl’s Army.

Another Party of *Richard*’s Forces were deeply engaged with those under the Command of the Earl of *Oxford*; and, at that Instant, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother falling upon the Flanks of the King’s Army, *Richard* was obliged to quit the Earl, to give fresh Orders to his Troops, who were put into Disorder by the *Stanleys*: What was yet worse, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who commanded one Wing of the King’s Army, proved false to him, and ordered his Men to throw down their Arms. Some of *Richard*’s Friends, seeing how the Battle was like to go, brought him a swift Horse, and persuaded him to save himself by Flight; to which he answered, ‘ No; I will not fly; for I am resolved this Day shall finish all Battles, or else I will finish my Life.’ So, closing his Helmet, he boldly rushed among the thickest of his Enemies, and met with his Death, refusing to survive the Day, in which he saw himself so generally abandoned by his Subjects. In this one Point *Richard* kept his Word; for, the Day before the Battle, he declared to his Army, that he would either carry the Victory, or die upon the Spot.

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One of our modern Poets makes the Earl of *monſ* expreſs himſelf as follows upon the De bloody-minded *Richard*.

*Farewell, Richard, and, from thy dreadful End
May future Kings from Tyranny be warn'd.
Had thy aspiring Soul but ſtirr'd in Virtue,
With half the Spirit it has dar'd in Evil,
How might thy Fame have grac'd our Engliſh Ann*

This unfortunate King was ſmall of Stature, a ſhaped ; his Aſpect rugged and unpleaſing ; he vigorous and enterprizing Genius, and wanted no Courage nor Conduct for a good General ; his S after he had been guilty of many different Mur was ſhort and broken ; his Dreams dreadful, ſometimes he would ſtart out of his Bed, and frightened about the Chamber. It is ſaid, the Night before the Battle of *Boſworth*, his Mind was terribly raiſed : It is probable, the Proſpect of the Da might make his Crimes appear in proper Colours, his Conſcience looſe with a greater Force, and him an Apprehenſion of Miſcarriage : But it is certain that neither the Preſage of his Miſfortune, the Weight of his Guilt, could ſink him into Cardice.

It muſt be owned *Richard* was a Monster Luſt and Cruelty, whoſe Murders, too many be here repeated, are at large ſet down in our Chronicles, with his Attempts of Rape and Inceſt : perfect he was in Villany and Hypocriſy, that always gave fair Language, and ſhewed the greateſt Signs of Love to that Man in the Morning whoſe Throat he had given Orders to be cut in Evening.

His Body, after the Battle, was ſtripped ſtark naked and miſerably mangled ; and, in that Condition, beſmeared with Blood and Duſt, was thrown croſs Ho

Horse like a dead Beast, and carried to *Leicester*; where, for a Spectacle of Hate and Scorn, he lay two Days unburied; and then was interred in the *Grey Friars* Monastery, without any Funeral Pomp. The Stone-coffin, in which he was buried, was dug up on the Dissolution of the religious Houses, and made Use of as a Trough for Horses, at one of the common Inns in *Leicester*; but what became of his Bones is variously reported.

Mr. *Salmon* takes Notice, ‘ That King *Richard* the ‘ *Illd* appears to have been a Prince of great Sagacity ‘ and Courage, but seems to have abandoned all Religion and Conscience. ‘ When he fixed his Eyes upon ‘ the Crown, he thought neither Friends, Relations, ‘ Honour, nor even Heaven itself, ought to come in ‘ Competition with the glorious Bauble.’

This memorable Battle, wherein *Richard* lost his Life and Crown, was fought on the 22d of *August*, but various are the Reports as to the Numbers that composed the two Armies; some say, that *Richard's* Side consisted of no more than ten thousand Men; and that on the Earl's Side not more than twelve thousand, including the *French*, the Lord *Stanley's*, and his Brother *William's* Party. If they consisted of no more than these, it was but a small Number, considering the Consequence was no less than determining the Right to a Kingdom.

Some say, that in the Battle of *Bosworth* were slain on *Richard's* Side about a Thousand, (and among them the valiant Duke of *Norfolk*, Father of the Earl of *Surry* :) On the Earl of *Richmond's* Side not above an Hundred. Others make the Number killed on both Sides to be much larger. By *Richard's* Death the Affair was decided, and his Crown, being found in the Field of Battle, was carried to the Lord *Stanley*, who instantly placed it on the Earl's Head, saluted him as King, and congratulated him upon the Victory;

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Victory; from which Time *Henry* was, altogether, such.

The Earl of *Surry* was taken Prisoner with *tesby*; the first was sent to the Tower, but the with several others, were immediately executed.

Thus an End was put to the Wars between two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, begun King *Henry* the VIth, and continued to the Death of *Richard* the IIIrd; in which were fought, in less than sixty Years twelve pitched Battles, and two Kings, one Prince, ten Dukes, two Marquesses, twelve Earls, twenty-seven Lords, two Viscounts, one Prior, one Judge, an hundred and thirty-nine Knights, four hundred and forty-one Esquires, and eight thousand, nine hundred and ninety-eight private soldiers were slain; in the whole amounting to eleven thousand, five hundred and twenty-eight, that lost their Lives in the Quarrel between the two Houses.

Henry was Son of *Edmund Tudor*, 1st Duke of *Richmond*, by *Margaret* his Wife, and daughter of *Llewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*; and the prophecy of *Cadwallador*, the last King of *Britann*, fulfilled by his coming to the Crown.

Henry the VIth, who was reputed a Man of great Foresight, upon seeing this Prince one Day play, said, (to some Lords then attending him) *Behold the Heir that shall enjoy what we now contest for*; tho' the Prince had then an hopeful Heir alive, and the House of *Lancaster* was then in the Possession of the Crown. By *Richard*'s succeeding to the Crown, the notable Predictions of the two Kings were verified.

Still *Henry*'s Claim, in his own Right, was not disputed; but afterwards marrying the Heiress of the House of *York*, and being recognized by the Parliament, (which we shall presently mention) whatever was thought of it, certainly they were two best Evidences of his Right; for, from the Time of his Marriage, he undoubtedly became King *de Jure*, and even before that Time, from the Entrance of

Reign, he may be looked upon as having a presumptive Right to the Allegiance of the People of *England*, having obliged himself by an early Promise to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*; and the whole Nation was persuaded he would not fail to perform it. In Fact, as *Henry* kept his Word, he thereby brought all Hearts to bow to his Title, as before all Knees to his Sword.

The King proceeded by easy Journeys to the City of *London*, receiving the Acclamations and Applauses of the People as he passed on, 'which indeed were true and unfeigned, (says Lord *Bacon*) as might well appear in the very Demonstrations, and Fulness of the Cry; and, in order to disperse the Terror of a Conquest, he gave Orders, that there should be nothing in his Journey to *London* like unto a Warlike March, but rather like to the Progress of a King, in full Assurance of the Affection of his Subjects.'

He entered the City of *London* on a *Saturday*; for, as he had obtained the Victory on a *Saturday*, he accounted that Day of the Week as a Day prosperous to him. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City received him at *Shoreditch*, and conducted him in great State to *St. Paul's*; from whence he proceeded to the Bishop of *London's* Palace, where he resided for some Time. Yet he did not proceed through the City on Horseback, or in an open Chair, or on a Throne, but in a close Chariot, as one that had been, as Lord *Bacon* observes, 'an Enemy to the whole State, and a proscribed Person; therefore, for the present, he chose rather to keep State, and strike a Reverence in the People, than to fawn upon them.'

After the King's Arrival in *London*, he instituted a Guard for his Person, which consisted of a certain Number of Men under the Command of a Captain; the like are still continued, and are known by the Name of the *Yeomen of the Guard*, and wear at this

this Day the same Habit they did at their first Institution, save that Gold Lace is added to their Cloathing.

Henry had not been long in *London* before he gave Direction for his Coronation. As it drew near, he took the Opportunity of dining with Cardinal *Bouchier*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at *Lambeth*; after Dinner he returned by Land over the Bridge to the Tower, where he made twelve *Knights Bannerets*; and created *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, his Uncle, Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas*, Lord *Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*; and *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*: These he preferred before he was crowned; when he also settled his Privy Council, whereof the Earl of *Oxford*, Sir *Reginald Bray*, Sir *John Cbeyney*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, with the Noblemen last mentioned were Part.

On the 30th of *October* he was crowned at *Westminster*, by the Hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Innocent* the VIIIth then sat in the Papal Chair; *Frederick* the IIIrd was Emperor of *Germany*; *Charles* the VIIIth, King of *France*; *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*; *James* the IIIrd, King of *Scotland*: As to the other Princes that reigned in the other Parts of *Europe*, we shall mention them as Occasion arises.

As soon as he was crowned (under Pretence of better securing his Estate) he shut up the Earl of *Warwick* in the Tower, which greatly surprized the People in general. This young Prince was but fifteen Years of Age, and was Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who was stifled in a Butt of *Malmsey*. After the Death of his Father, *Edward* the IVth, his Uncle, caused him to be carefully educated, and created him Earl of *Warwick*. When *Richard* was on the Throne he ordered him to be confined; but after the Usurper's Death the Earl hoped for better Treatment from his Successor, though it proved otherwise; for so far was *Henry* from releasing him, that he caused him to be more closely confined; nor was this all, for he

he put this unhappy Prince to Death by the Hands of the Executioner, whereby he acted more the Tyrant, than the Tyrant himself, from whom he boasted to have delivered the Kingdom.

On the 7th of November the Parliament met; the first Business they proceeded upon, was to pass an Act to recognize the King's Title*. This Act was worded according to Henry's express Directions; but, before it passed into a Law, it seems several had been returned Members, who were attainted of Treason, and the Opinion of the Judges was demanded, as to their Right of sitting, who determined, *That they could not lawfully sit in the House, until*

The Proceedings of the first Parliament held the 7th of November, 1485.

* The Act to confirm Henry in his Sovereignty runs in these Words :

' To the Pleasure of Almighty God, Wealth, Prosperity, and Surety of this Realm of England, and to the singular Comfort of all the King's Subjects of the same, in avoiding all Ambiguity and Questions, be it ordained, established, and enacted by this present Parliament, that the Inheritance of the Crown of this Realm of England, &c. shall rest, remain, and abide in the most Royal Person of our now Sovereign Lord King Henry the VIIth, and the Heirs of his Body lawfully coming.

Lord Bacon, upon passing this Law, observes, ' That which concerned the entailing the Crown (the King was more than true to his own Will, that he would not endure any Mention of the Lady Elizabeth, no not in the Nature of a special Entail) he carried it otherwise with great Wisdom; for he did not press

to have the Act penned by way of Declaration, or Recognition, or Right. Upon the other Side he avoided to have it by new Law or Ordinance, but chose rather a kind of middle Way, by way of Establishment, and that in covert and indifferent Words, *That the Inheritance of the Crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King, &c.* which Words might equally be applied, that the Crown should continue to him; but whether, as having a former Right to it, (which was doubtful) or having it then in Fact and Possession, (which no Man denied) was left fair to Interpretation either Way. And again, to the Limitation of the Entail, he did not press to go further than himself, and the Heirs of his Body; not speaking of the right Heirs, leaving that to the Law to decide, so as the Entail might seem rather a personal Favour to him and his Children, than a total Disinheritance of the House of York.

until their Attainders were reversed. It was far manded 'What was to be done in the King's C
' stood attainted with his Friends.' The Jud
swered, *That the Crown took away all Defects a
feitures from the Moment the Prince ascended the*
therefore there did not need any Act to restore him.
the Judges gave this as their Opinion, yet Hen
Care to have it ordained in Parliament, That
cords, wherein there was any Mention of his Att
should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the

The Commons, as soon as they had passed t
for Recognizing *Henry's* Title to the Crown, pr
an Address to him, wherein they prayed his Ma
make the Princess *Elizabeth* his Queen; and wh
King came to the House of Peers to give the
Assent to the Act, and was placed on the Thron
Lords Spiritual and Temporal also addressed h
the same Effect. To which he answered, wi
own Mouth, 'That he was content to proceed a
'ing to the joint Desire and Request of his two H
' of Parliament.'

These two grand Points being thus settled, th
liament next proceeded to pass an Act to attair
late Tyrant *Richard*, with his Adherents; among
were the late Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surry*
Lord *Lovel*, *Catesby*, and others of lesser Not
which Act *Richard* is called by the Name of the
of *Gloucester*.

The King had two Views in getting this Act
sed. First, to satisfy his Vengeance upon his
mies; and next, to raise considerable Sums of M
out of the Estates of the Attainted.

The other Acts that passed this Session of P
ment were of no Consequence, save the two w
written, *

* 1. To reduce Aliens, notwith-
standing they were made Denizens,
still to pay Strangers Customs.

2. To draw to the Kin
Seizure and Composition o
lian Goods for not Employ

Upon passing these Laws Lord *Bacon* remarks, that the King, 'From the very Beginning was not forgetful of Points of Profit to his Coffers, and that he had been more happy at the latter End, if his early Providence (which kept from all Necessity of exacting upon his People) would likewise have attempted his Nature.'

At first setting out the King did not discover his natural Disposition; for, as this was the first Parliament held in his Reign, he did not think proper to demand any Supplies, proposing thereby to ingratiate himself with the People; and, as *Henry* had in every respect obtained the End he desired from the Meeting of the Parliament, there being no farther Business before them, they broke up.

After the King had dismissed his Parliament, and filled his Coffers out of the Estates of the Attainted, he issued a Proclamation, offering Pardon to all Persons that had been concerned in any Plot against him, before he came to the Crown; which had so good an Effect, that many came in, and took the Oaths of Allegiance; but others chose to remain in Sanctuary, till the Character of the new King was more known.

Henry having thus exercised his Regal Office as well by Acts of Severity as Mercy, the next Step he took was to confer Honours upon some of his Companions in Exile; the Lord *Chandos* he created Earl of *Bath*; Sir *Giles Dawbeney* he raised to the Dignity of a Peer; he shewed the like Favour to Sir *Robert Willoughby*, by creating him Lord *Brooke*; *Edward Stafford* he restored to the Dignity of Duke of *Buckingham*, forfeited by his Father's Attainder, a Piece of Justice the King could not well refuse, since that Lord's Father lost his Life, Title and Estate in aiding *Henry* against *Richard*. A sad Fate attended this noble Family; Lord *Stafford's* Great-grandfather, *Humphry* Duke of *Buckingham*, was killed at the Battle of *St. Alban's*; his Grandfather, *Humphry* Duke of *Buckingham*, at *Northampton*; his Father

was

was beheaded *; and all this they suffered thro' their assisting the House of *Lancaster* against that of *York*.

His Majesty kept his *Christmas* at his pleasant Palace in *Sheine* (now called *Richmond*.) Sir *John Denham* has these beautiful Lines in his *Cooper's Hill*, when he speaks of the River that glides by it.

*My Eye, descending from the Hill, surveys
Where Thames among the wanton Valleys strays;
Thames, the most lov'd of all the Ocean's Sons,
By his old Stre, to his Embraces runs;
Hasting to pay his Tribute to the Sea,
Like mortal Life to meet Eternity.
Though with those Streams be no Resemblance bold,
Whose Foam is Amber, and their Gravel Gold;
His genuine, and less guilty Wealth t' explore,
Search not his Bottom, but survey his Shore;
O'er which he kindly spreads his spacious Wing,
And hatches Plenty for th' ensuing Spring.
Finds Wealth where 'tis, bestows it where it wants,
Cities in Desarts, Woods in Cities plants:
So that to us no Thing, no Place is strange,
While his fair Easom is the World's Exchange.
O could I flow like thee, and make thy Stream
My great Example, as it is my Theme!
Tho' deep, yet clear, tho' gentle, yet not dull,
Strong without Rage, without o'er-flowing full.*

The Marquess of *Dorset* was one, among other Noblemen, that retired into *France*, to avoid falling a Sacrifice to *Richard's* Repentment, or at least being a Spectator

* Many Historians relate, that the Duke of *Buckingham's* Servant, *Banister*, never received the pecuniary Reward for basely betraying his Master; and what is very remarkable, this perfidious Miscreant did not go unpunished by the Hand of Divine Vengeance, himself afterwards was hanged for Murder, his eldest Son run mad, and died in a Hogsty; his second Son was deformed; his third Son drowned in a small Puddle of Water; and his eldest Daughter was debauched by one of his Carters, and struck with a Leprosy, of which she died.

tator of his tyrannical Proceedings: This Nobleman was at the *French* Court, when the Earl of *Richmond* was soliciting their Assistance, and voluntarily offered to remain there as one of the Earl's Pledges; the Offer being accepted, *Henry* obtained Part of the Aid he requested; and, as soon as he was placed on the Throne, he sent *Oliver King*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, as his Envoy into *France*, with Money to pay King *Charles* for what he had expended on his Account; whereupon the Marquess had Leave to return home.

He had not been long in *England*, before *Henry* grew jealous of him, owing to some Expressions he unguardedly let drop in *France*, relating to *Henry's* Title to the Crown: But, being informed of his Majesty's Displeasure, he set out for *St. Edmondsbury*, (where the King then was) with a Design to attend his Majesty, and justify himself: On the Road he was arrested by the Earl of *Oxford*, and conveyed to the Tower, even without being heard, where he remained some Time; by which the Marquess exchanged an easy Confinement in *France*, to that of a rigorous one in *England*.

Some little Time before the King had raised Money out of the Estates of his Enemies, he sent to the City of *London* to borrow 6000 Marks: This Request at first met with great Difficulties, because the Citizens were fearful, and all he could obtain was but 2000, which he afterwards punctually paid. This gave him so much Credit in the City, that they always readily lent the King Money whenever he desired it.

About the End of this Year he called to his Council his good Friend *John Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox*, who was afterwards *Wolsey's* great Patron. *Fox* the King made Keeper of his Privy Seal, then Bishop of *Exeter*, and at last he translated him to *Winchester*. These two Prelates the King employed in his most important Commissions, Embassies, and

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Negotiations : And he chose to employ Ecclesiasticks, because they received no Money out of his Pocket, he having always Preferments in the Church to reward them for the Labour and Pains they took in his Service.

^{1486.} *Henry* being now fixed on the Throne, and having settled several important Affairs, he bethought himself of his Promise in respect to making the Princess *Elizabeth* his Spouse ; the 12th of *January* he sent for her to *London*, and on the 18th he was married to her in publick, whereby the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* became united.

Tho' this Marriage was so acceptable to the People, that they made very extraordinary Rejoicings on the Occasion, it was by no means pleasing to the King : For it was perfectly against the Grain, that he consummated it at all, and would have dropped her if he could, or durst have done it : But the solemn Promise he had made, and the Fondness of the People of *England* for this Conjunction, did not permit him to take such an imprudent Step ; because every body was convinced, that the Reason of his being called over was to unite the Titles of the two Houses, making but little Account of his Right, abstracted from that of *Elizabeth's*. Besides, he had a mortal Aversion to the whole Family of *York*, without excepting even the Queen his Consort, whom he considered only as his Rival, and mortified her in many Instances.

First, he did not marry her till near three Months after his Coronation, tho' he delayed it so long for no other Reason, than that it should not be thought he stepped into the Throne by Right of his Wife, or at least by Virtue of the Rights of the two Houses blended together by this Union. Next, he did not consent to her Coronation till two Years after their Marriage, and probably never would, if the Uneasiness, which such harsh Treatment of

her created among the People, had not made him apprehensive of the greatest Inconveniences : For, though they were properly the Friends of the House of *York*, who had placed him on the Throne, yet, when he had formed a Resolution to reign by his own Right solely, he was sensible how much they were against it ; therefore, from that Time, could never repose any Confidence in them. It was this Partiality for the Partizans of the House of *Lancaster*, that brought all those Troubles upon him, to which he was exposed during almost his whole Reign : Whereas, if the King could have kept an Equilibrium between both Houses, and have humoured the Intentions of those who called him to the Crown, in all Probability his Reign would have been more quiet.

However, as they were a-kin to each other from the third to the fourth Degree of Consanguinity, he thought it needful to have a Dispensation ; which the Bishop of *Imola*, then the Pope's Nuncio in *England* and *Scotland*, with the Power of *Legate a Latere*, granted him, by Virtue of an Authority vested in him for that Purpose. But afterwards *Henry*, fearing there might be some Flaw found in it, because it was not natural to think a King and a Queen should be comprized in the Power given to a Legate, desired and obtained another Dispensation from the Pope himself ; but, because this made no Mention of the former, and was dated likewise after the Consummation of the Marriage, he procured a third, which fully confirmed that he had first from the Nuncio.

This Dispensation being at last obtained in the Manner he desired, he took care to get the Act, for securing the Crown to himself and his Heirs, confirmed by a Bull from the Pope ; to accomplish which he produced no less than four Titles to his Holiness, without giving the Preference to any one. These were, first, his Descent from *John of*

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Gaunt, Duke of *Lancaster* ; second, his Marriage with *Elizabeth* of *York* ; third, his Victory at *Bosworth* ; and fourth, the above-mentioned Act of Parliament. Though these Titles seemed to corroborate one another, they only served to shew in the main how dubious he was with respect to the Foundation of his Right ; since he was not married at the Time of his Coronation, and the Act of Settlement not being then passed, he could only ground his Claim upon the first and third of those Titles.

Shortly after the Queen's Marriage *William Wainfleet*, Bishop of *Winchester*, died ; who was first educated at *Winchester* School, then removed to *Oxford* ; afterwards made School-master of *Winchester*, and Provost of *Eaton* ; and, lastly, preferred to the See of *Winchester* in 1447. He likewise had committed to his Custody the Great Seal for several Years ; but that which will always perpetuate his Memory, is the Founding of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, the Place where the great Cardinal *Wolsey*, the chief Subject of our History, was educated. This College, for Buildings and large Revenues, can be paralleled but by few in *Europe*. By Endowment it takes in forty Fellows, thirty Demies, four Chaplains, eight Clerks, and sixteen Choristers.

About this Time his Majesty sent an Ambassador to the Pope, to acquaint him, that now, like another *Aeneas*, he had passed through the Flood of his former Troubles, and was arrived into a safe Haven ; to thank his Holiness for the Honour he had done him, by the Presence of his Legate, at the Celebration of his Marriage ; and to declare to him, that both his Master's Person, and the Forces of his Kingdom, were ready upon all Occasions to do him Service.

The Ambassador being introduced to a publick Audience of the Pope, in the *Presence of his Cardinals*,
in

in a florid Speech he spoke to the different Points before mentioned ; which was so well received, that his Holiness immediately granted the King a very just and honourable Bull, regulating the Privilege of Sanctuaries in three Respects, to wit,

‘ First, If any Sanctuary-man did, by Night, or otherwise, get out of Sanctuary privately, and commit Mischief and Trespafs, and then come in again, he should lose that Benefit for ever after.

‘ Second, That though a Man was protected in the Sanctuary, yet his Goods should be liable to his Creditors.

‘ Third, That if any took Sanctuary in Cases of Treason, the King should have Privilege to appoint Keepers to watch the Party in Sanctuary.’

Mr. *Collier* reports, that the King had not long received from the Pope the different Bulls we have been speaking of, before a Synod was held under the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wherein, among other Transactions, ‘ several indiscreet and intemperate Preachers were called to an account, for taking too much Liberty with their Bishops, and making themselves popular, by declaiming against them ; the *London* Clergy were likewise reprimanded for frequenting publick Houses, and appearing too expensive in their Habits.’

Whilst *Henry* was busy in settling his Affairs at home, his Envoy at *Paris* concluded with the Court of *France* a Truce for three Years. Some Historians aver, that *Charles* was the more ready to comply with the King’s Request, for that he had formed a Design to conquer *Brittany*, which *Henry* was ignorant of: Though the Truce seemed in all Appearance to be very advantageous to him, as he was but lately placed on the Throne ; for thereby he rendered himself more formidable to his domestick

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Enemies, who were deprived of any Hopes of Assistance from *France*.

Having carried this Point, he again thought of his Friends, by shewing farther Marks of Royal Favour to the Earl of *Derby*, and Sir *William Stanley*, his Brother; the Earl he made *Higb Constable*, and Sir *William* his *Lord Chamberlain*. These, of all the great Men in the Kingdom, were the two Persons the King was most indebted to; since, as all agree, they enabled him to obtain the Victory at *Bosworth*, which procured him the Crown.

Though the King had happily attained his Ends, with respect to the Act of Settlement and Succession, he knew what the Parliament had done was not agreeable to the People in general, which made him still uneasy: He also well knew, that the House of *York* had most Adherents in the *North* Counties, which put him upon going into the *North*, in Hopes that his Presence, with some Acts of Grace and Favour, might produce a good Effect. With that View he departed from *London* about two Months after his Marriage, and kept his *Easter* at *Lincoln*; and was there informed, that the Lord *Lovell*, and others of the late Tyrant *Richard's* Party were in Arms in the *North*: However, he continued his Journey to *York*, where he raised some Forces, purposing to go in Person against the Rebels. In the mean Time the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Troops under his Command, came up with them; and the first Thing he did was to proclaim a Pardon to all those that instantly laid down their Arms, which had the desired Effect, several of them submitting; (the Lord *Lovell*, for fear of being delivered up by his Forces, withdrew from them, and retired into *Flanders*;) and the Remainder, finding themselves without a Leader, also submitted to the King's Mercy. Two Gentlemen, named *Stafford*, were then besieging *Worcester*, but, hearing what had passed in the *North*,

at once abandoned both the Siege and their Troops, which occasioned their Men to disperse; and they both took Sanctuary in a little Church, which the Court of *King's Bench* adjudged had no Privilege to protect Traytors; therefore they were taken from thence by Force, the eldest was executed at *Tyburn*, and the youngest pardoned. In a Word, this Rebellion was put an End to with only the Life of one Person.

September the 20th the Queen was delivered of a Prince, having gone but eight Months with Child, whom the King ordered to be named *Arthur*, in Memory of the famous *Arthur*, King of the antient *Britons*; for *Henry*, being of the *Welch*, or *British* Race, was fond of having it known, that he was a Descendant from them.

A few Days after the Queen's Delivery the Archbishop of *Canterbury* died, and was there buried; on which the King immediately conferred this great Dignity in the Church on *John Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*; *A Man* (says *Stow*) of excellent Wit, Virtue, and Learning: But his Majesty did not stop there, for he not only made him *Lord High Chancellor*; and Prime Minister, but also procured him a Cardinal's Cap.

During these Transactions the People shewed great Uneasiness at the Confinement of the Earl of *Warwick*, who had been guilty of no Crime, and looked on it as very great Injustice, a Report being raised, that the King had a-mind to make away with this Prince, who was an Eye-fore to him; by which it plainly appeared, that, though the King had lately put an End to one Rebellion, they were ripe for another; and that his Enemies thought it their best Way to improve it. For that Purpose they caused it to be spread abroad, that one of *Edward* the IVth's Sons was still alive; the Design of this Report was, no doubt, to compare *Henry* with *Richard*, and thereby make the People believe,

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believe, that, in changing Kings, they had only received one Usurper for another. The People easily swallowed these false Reports, which was a clear Evidence, how ready they would be, if a favourable Opportunity offered, to list against the King.

These Murmurs of the People were the Fore-runners of new Troubles; for the Sword of Civil Dissention, which had so many Years been drawn betwixt the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, had not been long sheathed on the Death of *Richard*, and putting an End to the Rebellion we have been speaking of, before the Enemies, to *Henry* and *England's* Quiet, raised up Impostors and Counterfeits, to interrupt the Peace, Joy, and Tranquillity, which this Nation might reasonably have expected from the Accession of *Henry* the VIIth to the Throne, and his marrying with the Heiress of the House of *York*.

The starting up of the first Pretender to *Henry's* Throne was by the Means of one *Richard Simon*, an *Oxford* Priest, who, perceiving that the People were overjoyed at what had been blazed abroad, as to one of *Edward* the IVth's Sons being alive, took it in his Head to impose upon the World a young Man, one *Lambert Simnell*, a Baker's Son, who should personate the Duke of *York*. He had the Education of this Boy, who was then about that Duke's Age, of good natural Parts, and in all his Behaviour had something grand, and above his Birth. Scarce had he begun to instruct his Pupil in the Part he was to act, but another Report was spread, that the Earl of *Warwick* had escaped out of the Tower; and this, like the first, though false, caused among the People so great Joy, that *Simon* thought fit to alter his Project, and make *Simnell* pass for the Earl of *Warwick*; but, judging it not proper to present him first in *England*, *Simnell*, by the Direction of his Tutor, made the best of his way into *Flanders* to *Margaret* of *Burgundy*, who re-

ceived

ceived him with all Favour, and publickly declared for him.

The Earl of *Lincoln* was then at her Court ; who was Son of *John de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth*, Sister to *Edward* the IVth, and *Richard* the IIIrd. As soon as the Earl heard that the Dutches had espoused *Simmell's* Cause, he also declared for him.

Margaret was Sister to the Earl's Mother, and Widow of *Charles*, surnamed *the Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom she had no Children. Still she ardently desired to see her Family replaced on the Throne of *England* ; and Historians tell us, she hated *Henry* the VIIth, and that she had the Spirit of a Man, and the Malice of a Woman. In truth, she so effectually aided *Simmell*, that he passed into *Ireland*, where the Earl of *Kildare*, who was then Deputy, received him like a Prince ; and the Populace attended him with great Solemnity to the Castle of *Dublin*. The Youth became it well, and did nothing that in the least betrayed the Baseness of his Birth ; and soon after he was proclaimed in *Dublin*, by the Name of *Edward* the VIth.

No sooner had the People of *Ireland* proclaimed *Simmell* King, but the Dutches of *Burgundy* sent them a Reinforcement of 2000 *Germans*, commanded by Colonel *Martin Swart*, who was accompanied thither by the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovell*, and the rest of the *English* Rebels in her Court. All this while there was not one Sword drawn to defend King *Henry's* Title.

These Proceedings in *Ireland* greatly alarmed the King, who thereon called a Council, which was held with great Secrecy. It was said, the Queen Dowager was accused of being one of the principal Encouragers of this Rebellion ; but whether that Charge was true, or not, does not fully appear, tho' certain it is, that, soon after the holding of this Council, the following Orders were published,

First,

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‘ First, That the Queen Dowager should be shut up in the Nunnery of *Bermondsey*, in *Southwark*, (some Walls of which remain to this Day) and forfeit all her Lands and Goods.

‘ Second, That the true Earl of *Warwick* should be publickly shewn, to convince the People that the Person in *Ireland*, who had assumed his Title, was an Impostor.

‘ Third, That a general Pardon should be proclaimed to all such as submitted themselves by a certain Day.’

These Resolutions of the King and Council were in time put in Execution ; the Pardon was proclaimed, the Queen Dowager was shut up in the Nunnery, and all her Estate seized, though she was Mother to the Queen.

This Lady was one Example of great Variety of Fortune ; she was the Daughter of the Dutchess of *Bedford*, and was first married to Sir *Thomas Grey*, who had one Son by her, named *Thomas* ; the Knight was killed at the Battle of *St. Alban’s*, fighting on the Behalf of *Henry* the VIth ; his Widow and Son retired to her Mother, the Dutchess of *Bedford*, with whom they resided for some Time. Upon *Edward* the IVth’s succeeding to the Crown, he seized the Family Estate ; but an Accident soon after fell out, that proved very advantageous to the young Widow.

Edward, being a hunting near the Dutchess’s Seat, made her a Visit, where he found the young Widow and her Son, which Opportunity she took to solicit his Majesty to restore to her the Family Estate. The King, being charmed with her Beauty, readily complied with her Request : And, in his Turn, became a Suitor to the Lady, for a Favour of another kind ; but in this *Edward* met with a Repulse, the Lady signifying, *that she thought herself unworthy to be his Wife, and too good to be his Mistress.* The King,

King, instead of being displeased, commended the Answer, at once changed his Suit, made her his Wife, caused her to be crowned Queen, and created her Son Marquess of *Dorset*. Soon after she founded *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*, which will perpetuate her Name to late Posterity. Notwithstanding her sudden Rise, after her Royal Husband's Demise, she lived to see her Brother beheaded, her two Sons defeated of the Crown, and cruelly murdered; but, with the Wheel, she rose again; her Daughter married a King, and herself became a Grandmother to the renowned Prince *Arthur*: But at last she was banished the World, being commanded into a Nunnery; (and it was even at that Time looked upon as a Crime to visit her) where she ended her Life in Confinement, and was buried near her Husband at *Windsor* *. The Treatment she met with from the King was severely censured by the People; yet, as *Henry* was to get considerably by the Confiscation of her Estates, he little heeded the Murmurs of his Subjects.

The first and last Resolutions of Council being performed, the King caused the true Earl of *Warwick* to be shewn in publick, led through the Streets of *London*, and conducted in solemn Procession to *St. Paul's*, where Multitudes were assembled to see him; and he talked with many that knew him, particularly with those who were known to be well affected to the House of *York*; after which he was again conveyed to the Tower: Yet this did not convince the People of *Ireland*,

* Lord *Bacon* reports, ' That the only publick Cause, assigned for confining her, was, for that she had delivered her two Daughters out of Sanctuary to King *Richard*, contrary to Promise; which Proceedings of the King were looked upon at that Time as very rigorous;

' but (says his Lordship, who is ready on all Occasions to excuse the King's Failings) ' it is very probable, that there was some greater Matter against her, which the King, upon reason of Policy, and to avoid Envy, would not publish.'

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land, who still maintained, that the Earl of *Warwick* shewed at *London* was an Impostor, and that theirs at *Dublin* was the true Earl.

Henry, in the Interim, assembled two Armies, one of them he commanded in Person, having under him the Earl of *Sbrewsbury*, and other experienced Generals, which he posted on the Coasts of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, with a Design to defend those Counties against an Invasion from *Flanders*. The Command of the other he gave to the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*, who marched to the West of *England*, in order to oppose a Descent from *Ireland*. The King, having thus disposed of his Armies, returned for *London*, and took *Norwich* in his Way, where he kept his *Christmas*; from whence he went in Pilgrimage to *Walsingham*, where he visited our Lady's Church, famous for Miracles, and made his Prayers and Vows for Help and Deliverance: And with these Transactions ended the Year 1486.

^{1487.} The Beginning of the next Year the King again visited the Sea-coasts, and the great Towns in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, to see that they were put into a Condition to resist the Enemy.

While *Henry* was taking Measures for the Defence of *England*, the Earl of *Lincoln* caused *Simmell*, the pretended King, to be crowned in *Christ-church* at *Dublin*; from thence they carried him upon tall Men's Shoulders to the Castle, amidst the Acclamations of the People; and the Crown, made use of on this Occasion, was taken from one of the Images of the Virgin *Mary*: The Bishop of *Meath* actually preached the Coronation Sermon; and the Lord Deputy, Lord Chancellor, Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lovell*, and many other Persons of Quality were present to countenance the Ceremony.

It is to be observed, that though *Lambert* was actually crowned, yet he met with a Check from *Ostavianus*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, who sent the Pope

Word

Word of his being an Impostor, endeavoured to draw the Earl of *Kildare* from his Interest, and refused to appear at his Coronation.

But this Attempt did not deter *Simmell's* Friends from continuing to assist him; for, notwithstanding *Henry's* Precaution, the Earl of *Lincoln*, with his Forces (soon after *Simmell's* Coronation) embarked for *England*, and landed in *Lancashire* without Opposition, where he was joined by Sir *Robert Broughton*. He then advanced towards *York*, expecting to be joined by the Country as he marched on; but, contrary to his Expectation, he met with no Reinforcement.

Lincoln, seeing that his Army was rather like to diminish than encrease, altered his first Design of going to *York*, and determined to give the King Battle, who was advanced as far as *Nottingham*: Accordingly he ordered a Detachment of his Forces to take Possession of *Newark*, that he might command a Passage over the *Trent*; but the King prevented him, by encamping between the Rebels and that Town. And the Earl, finding the King's Army to be 15 or 16,000 strong, and his own not above half that Number, made choice of a Spot of Ground to engage in, where he could not be surrounded, which was so narrow, that the King could not extend the Front of his Army beyond that of the Earl's. But *Henry*, relying on the Superiority of his Troops, having drawn up his Army in three Lines, on the 6th of *June*, near the Village of *Stoke* in *Nottinghamshire*, he attacked the Enemy.

The *Germans* and *Irish* defended themselves bravely for three Hours against the King's first Line; but the Earl of *Lincoln* and Colonel *Swart* being killed, with most of the *Germans* and *Irish*, the rest fled. The Lord *Lovell* also is supposed to have died in the Field, or to have been drowned in the *Trent*,

as.

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as he was endeavouring to cross the River, for he was never heard of after the Battle.

Among the Prisoners taken in this Battle was *Lambert Simnell*, together with his crafty Priest, who was committed close Prisoner; but it was never known whether he died a natural Death, or by the Hands of the Executioner. *Simnell* fared better, for he was considered as set on by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*; the King, finding him ingenuous in his Confessions, was pleased to pardon him, made him Turnspit in his Kitchen, and afterwards his Falconer, in which Station he died*.

Lambert

* Lord *Bacon* speaks of this Battle to the following Effect,
 ' Concerning the Battle the Relations that are left unto us are
 ' so naked and negligent, (tho' it be an Action of so recent
 ' Memory) as they rather declared the Success of the Day,
 ' than the Manner of the Fight; they say that the King divided
 ' his Army into three Battalies, whereof the Vant-guard only,
 ' well strengthened with Wings, came to fight: That the
 ' Fight was so fierce and obstinate, and lasted three Hours
 ' before the Victory inclined either Way; save that Judgment
 ' might be made, by that the King's Vant-guard of itself
 ' maintained Fight against the whole Power of the Enemies,
 ' (the other two Battalies remaining out of Action) what
 ' the Success was like to be in the End: That *Martin Swart*
 ' with his *Germans* performed bravely, and so did those few
 ' *English* that were on that Side; neither did the *Irish* fail in
 ' Courage or Fierceness; but, being almost naked Men, only
 ' armed with Darts and Skeines, it was rather an Execution
 ' than a Fight upon them, infomuch as the furious Slaughter
 ' of them was a great Discouragement and Appalement
 ' to the rest: That there died upon the Place all the Chieftains,
 ' that is, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*,
 ' *Francis* Lord *Lovell*, *Martin Swart*, and Sir *Thomas Broughton*,
 ' all making good the Fight without any Ground given.
 ' Only of the Lord *Lovell* there went a Report, that he fled,
 ' and swam over *Trent* on Horseback, but could not recover
 ' the further Side by reason of the Steepness of the Bank, and
 ' so was drowned in the River: But another Report leaves him
 ' not there, but that he lived long after in a Cave or Vault.
 ' The Number that was slain in the Field, was of the Enemy's
 ' Part 4000 at the least, and of the King's Part one Half of his
 ' Vant-guard, besides many hurt, but none of Name.'

Lambert Simnell was no sooner defeated, but the Pope granted the King a Bull, by which those concerned with him in his Rebellion were declared excommunicated; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* caused it to be solemnly published throughout his Province before the King returned to *London*.

After the Battle was over the King proceeded first to *Lincoln*, and then to *York*, where he caused several Persons to be apprehended and fined, for spreading a Report some time before the Battle, that his Army was beat.

On the second of *November* he came to *London*, where he made a triumphant Entry; the next Day he went in Procession to *St. Paul's*, and had *Te Deum* sung for his Victory over the Rebels, being glad to render it as conspicuous as possible, in order to strike Terror into his Enemies.

The Rebellion being thus happily put an End to, the King had Time more seriously to consider the Cause of his Subjects Uneasiness, and being at last convinced, that his treating the Queen so ingloriously, both by delaying the Marriage and her Coronation, was one main Spring of the People's Discontent, he immediately determined on the Performance of the latter, which was compleated before the End of *November*: This was extremely pleasing to the People; and his Grace of *Bedford* acted as High Steward, by special Commission, on that solemn Occasion.

Soon after the Queen's Coronation, the King released the Marquess of *Dorset* without Examination, probably to give the People some Satisfaction, and to leave the Marquess in Fear of being still called to an Account. But it may be presumed, that, since he was so little inclined to shew Mercy to the *Yorkists*, he would not have discharged him so easily, had there been Proofs to convict him.

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The Marquess * married *Cecil*, Daughter and Heiress of *William Lord Boyle*, by whom he had *Thomas*, his Heir and Successor, as also *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard*. After his Release he retired into the Country, and spent the greatest Part of the Remainder of his Time in a rural Life; and it was during this Retirement that *Wolsey* had the Happiness of first becoming acquainted with him.

And about this Time the King was pleased to set at Liberty the Earl of *Surry*, and immediately took him into his Service. It was said, that, when *Surry* was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Bosworth*, the King asked him, *How he durst bear Arms in the Behalf of that Tyrant Richard?* To which the Earl replied, *He was my crowned King, and if the Parliamentary Authority of England set the Crown upon a Stock I will fight for that Stock; and, as I fought then for him, I will fight for you, when you are established by the said Authority;* and so he did, as will fully appear in the Course of this History.

For

* From this Nobleman his Grace *Henry de Grey*, late Duke of *Kent*, was descended, and became Chief of the Illustrious House of *Grey*, from whence were branched the Barons of *Rotherfield*, *Codnor*, *Wilton*, *Groby*, and *Rugemont*; the Viscount *Lisle*, the Earl of *Stamford*, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, all of the Surname of *Grey*. In *Picardy* (their Patrimony before the Conquest) his Grace was created Viscount *Goodrick*, of *Goodrick Castle*, and Earl of *Harold*, December 14, 1706; Duke of *Kent*, April 28, 1710; and Marquess *Grey*, May 31, 1740. The Title of Duke of *Kent* originally was in another Branch, the fifth of *Edward* the IVth, 1465.

His Grace died without Issue

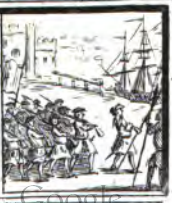
Male, and had by his Dutches four Daughters; the eldest, named *Amabella*, married the Lord *Glenorchy*, who had no Issue Male, and left only one Daughter, *Jemmima Campbell*, who was lately married to the Honourable *Philip York*, Esq; one of the Tellers of his Majesty's Exchequer, eldest Son and Heir apparent to the Right Honourable *Philip Lord Hardwicke*, Baron of *Hardwicke*, the present Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*.

Mr. *York's* Lady, by the Death of the Duke without Issue Male, is now Marchioness *Grey*; and the Title of Marquess *Grey* is limited by Patent to the Heirs Male of her Body.



MARQUIS OF DORSET

Mr. Wolseys first Patron





For the present, the King gave the Earl of *Surry* a Post in the Army, and by degrees he so gained the King's Favour, that he not only made him one of his Privy Council, but also his High Treasurer, which Office he enjoyed to *Henry* the VIIth's Death.

These were the most remarkable Transactions that happened in *England*, from the Death of *Edward* the IVth, to the End of *October*, 1487.

James the IIIrd of *Scotland* was but seven Years of Age when he came to the Crown ; *Affairs of Scotland.* as soon as he was out of his Minority he chose three Ministers, Men of mean Birth, to advise him in respect to the Government of his Kingdom, who, instead of counselling him for the Good of himself, and his Subjects, they influenced him to act independant of the Laws, for no other End but that they themselves might rule in his Name ; both which they effected, and thereby rendered the King extremely odious to his People. Without entering into a tedious Detail of the Outrages he committed on his Subjects, it may be sufficient to say, that many of the *Scotch* Writers have represented him as a real Tyrant.

The King had two Brothers, *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*, and *John*. The latter having taken notice to the King, that his Proceedings gave the People great Discontent, and begged him to alter his Conduct, it was so ill received, that he was thrown into Prison and put to Death.

The Favourites being afraid, that *Alexander* would revenge his Brother's Death, persuaded *James* to confine him in a Castle : And, having thus far carried their Measures, they prevailed on the King to go on, governing his Kingdom with Oppression and Violence.

About the Year 1485, the Duke of *Albany* found Means to make his Escape, and 1485.
E
retired

retired into *France*, where he soon after lost his Life in a Tournament.

1487. The King's Enemies have represented, that his capricious and turbulent Behaviour to his Subjects, was the Reason that excited the chief Nobility of *Scotland*, in the Beginning of this Year, to take up Arms against him; being no longer, as they have alledged, able to bear his oppressive Government; and, to give a greater Sanction to their Proceedings, they got *James*, the King's eldest Son, into their Hands, who was about fifteen Years of Age. As soon as they had formed an Army, they put the young Prince at the Head of it.

When the King was informed of the Steps taken by his rebellious Subjects, in order to support himself against their Designs, he sent one *Snowden*, a Herald at Arms, to *Henry* the VIIth, to beg his Assistance: He also sent Messengers to the *Pope*, and the King of *France*, on the same Account. *Henry* and *Charles* interposed their Mediations in a very princely Manner, not only by way of Request and Persuasion, but by Protestation and Menace; both declaring, 'That they thought it to be the common Cause of all Kings to prevent Subjects from giving Laws unto their Sovereigns; that, if *James's* Subjects did not submit, they would not only resent it, but revenge the Injury he might sustain by the Obstinacy of his People.'

1488. The Malecontents gave little heed to the Threats of these Princes, and replied, 'That there was no Way for the King to procure Peace with his Subjects, unless he would resign the Crown to his Son.' The King, finding by this Answer that no good was to be done by fair Means, had recourse to Arms, and, in a short time collected an Army together, with which he marched against the Rebels. On the 11th of *June*, both Armies met at a Place called *Bannock's Bourn*; Prince *James*, head-

ing the Rebels, and the King in Person his Army; they instantly fell to Blows, in which Engagement the King was killed on the first Onset, his Army put to Flight, and the Baggage seized and rifled. The Death of the King being rumoured thro' the Armies, the Victors but slowly pursued the Chace, gave Field-room to all that would fly, and no Severity was used against any taken Prisoners; for the *Lords of the Association* (as they were called) pursued the King, and not the People: The Discomfited fled towards *Stirling*, the Victorious retired to their Camp, and the next Day marched to *Linlithgow*.

' This Battle (says a *Scotch* Historian) seemed rather a brave Encounter, and meeting of Launces in some Lifts, than a Field of great Deeds of Arms; and the Victory was obtained rather by Disorder, and the Rashness of the Vanquished, than by the Valour of the Victorious.'

The King was slain in the thirty-fifth Year of his Age, and the twenty-ninth of his Reign. He had Issue *James* the IVth, who succeeded him. The Conspirators with all Funeral Rites and Royal Pomp (as in Expiation of the Wrongs they had done him living) buried his Body near his Queen, in the Monastery of *Cambuskenneth*.

This Monastery at present is a Heap of Ruins, and the King's Grave is now under a *Hawthorn* Tree, the Stones being carried away by that Earl of *Marr*, who turned *Protestant* at the Reformation, to build his fine Seat at *Stirling*; the Credulous therefore give that for a Reason, why that fine Seat hath never had the Luck to be inhabited.

Some little time before the Death of *James* the IIIrd, the Pope sent *Adrian de Castello*, an *Italian*, his Legate to *Scotland*, in order to reconcile King *James* and his Subjects; but came too late for what he was sent upon, the King being killed before the Legate arrived in *England*, who, hearing of his Death,

proceeded no farther. However, the Legate did not come too late to serve himself; for, upon his Arrival at Court, he was honourably received by King *Henry*, and his Chancellor, *Morton*; and the King, upon conversing with *Castello*, took a Fancy to him, and, apprehending he might be useful to him in *Italy*, preferred him first to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath* and *Wells*; and that was not all, the King also employed him in many of his Suits that he had to^transact at *Rome*. *Castello* was for many Years esteemed a Man of great Learning, well skilled in State Affairs, and by degrees obtained the Dignity of a *Cardinal*. The Pope, finding that *Castello* was in the King's Favour, was pleased to constitute him his Collector in *England*. Upon his Return to *Italy* he sent over *Polidor Virgil* as his Deputy, for which Reason we shall have occasion often to mention them both.

James the III^d's Character we have extracted from several of the *Scotch* Historians, who in general say, that he was a Prince of an haughty and towering Spirit, who loved to govern alone, affecting an absolute Power, in which he was buoyed up by his turbulent Subjects, who would not suffer him to rest.

Many Princes, in the Beginning of their Reigns, have been admired for their great and good Actions; but in time, by the Implacableness of their People, have been quite changed, and, from one Extremity to another, have become both unreasonable and base: And there is Reason to think, notwithstanding what some say, this King was provoked to do many Things by the Insolence of private Men, and that, what some called Tyranny and Fierceness in him, was, in many Cases, but just Severity.

It has been observed of this King, that he too much delighted in Retirement, and hated Business; that he troubled not himself with any, but for Formality sake; and that he was more desirous of Quietness than Action:

Action : If this was true, it was certainly the Fault of the Governors of his Youth, who put him off the Business of State.

On the other hand it is allowed, that he was much given to building, and repairing of Chapels, Halls, and Gardens, and that the finest Edifices of Churches and Palaces in *Scotland* were mostly performed in his Time. And, notwithstanding these Inclinations in this Prince, he has not escaped the Charge of Avarice ; yet there are no great Matters recorded of it, save his disposing of Church Benefices to whom he pleased. He was of a credulous Disposition, and easy to be imposed on, which hath occasioned some to write, that he was given to Divination, or the Study of future Events, which was the general Fault of those Times ; for it has been said, that our *Edward* the IVth gave into the same, and that, by the Misinterpretation of the Prophecy of a Necromancer, which foretelling, that one, the first Letter of whose Name was G. should usurp the Kingdom, and dispossess the Children of King *Edward*, in order to prevent that Prophecy's being fulfilled, he caused the Life of his Brother, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, to be taken away ; yet that Act did not prevent its coming to pass, since *Gloucester*, the King's Brother, afterwards caused the two young Princes to be cruelly murdered in the Manner before related.

Mr. *Drummond*, in his History of *James* the IIIrd, breaks out into these Expressions on this King's unhappy Catastrophe : ‘ Many have thought, that the fatal Chariot of his Precipice was, that he had equally offended Kindred, Clergy, Nobility, and People ; but, suppose this had been true, why should such an horrible Mischief have been devised, as to arm his own Son against him ; and that neither the Fear of Divine Justice, the Imputation of Infamy by the present or after Times, the Danger of the Example, had Power to divert the Minds of Men from such a
‘ cruel

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‘cruel Design? This was really to seeth the Kid in the Mother’s Milk, and to make an innocent Youth obnoxious to the most heinous Crime that could be committed: Whatever Curtains could be spread to over-shadow and cover this Mischief, the Horror of this Fact possessed this Prince to his last Hour, and God, out of his Justice, executed the Revenge of his Cruelty upon the Nobles, Commons, and the Prince himself at the Field of *Flodden*, where some of the chief Actors of this Parricide were in their own Persons, and others in the Persons of their Successors, sacrificed to the Ghost of this King.’

The Prince was immediately, upon his Father’s Death, proclaimed King, as has been related; but many of the *Scotch* refused at first to own him as such; because, said they, he murdered his Father: This being the Case, that Country was for some time in no little Confusion, in which Condition we shall at present leave it, and proceed to *Germany*.

*Affairs of
Germany.
Frederick
the III.*

Frederick the III^d was elected Emperor of *Germany* about the Year 1440, and was crowned at *Aix-la-chapelle*. In the Beginning of his Reign he made divers good Laws for the Administration of Justice, the Civil Government, and the Coinage.

Frederick had one Son, named *Maximilian*. *Maximilian*, who, in his Infancy, was subject to so many Infirmities, that, even when he was nine or ten Years old, it was questioned whether he would not be dumb, or a Natural: But this Defect was so well corrected in his riper Years, that there appeared in him all the Qualifications necessary to form a great Prince, being admired for his Eloquence, and Elegance, in speaking divers Languages. He had a strong Inclination for Learning, and was a great Patron to all who made Profession of it; and, not content with barely reading Historians, and other

other Authors, he often took Pen in Hand, and employed some Hours in writing History.

Lewis the XIth received the Kingdom of *France* in a more flourishing Estate than it had been in for many Years before; that Crown having regained *Anjou*, *Normandy*, and *Provence*, which Provinces, as well as *Brittany*, were anciently Portions of it, but had been dissevered so as they were allied to her only in Homage, being for a long Time governed by absolute Princes of their own. There remained only what the *English* possessed about *Calais*, with *Burgundy* and *Brittany*, to be reunited, which once effected, the *French* Monarchy would be established upon the ancient Footing.

Affairs of France.
Lewis the XIth.
1461.

To shew how far this was accomplished, in respect to the two last mentioned Provinces, we shall for a while leave our first Pursuit, and trace the Steps taken by *Lewis* the XIth.

The Dukes of *Brittany* exercised all Acts of Sovereignty, without any Exception: They entered into Alliances, and even against the King of *France* himself, without Apprehension of incurring any Displeasure. They were constantly supported by *England*, *Arragon*, and *Burgundy*; so that, till the Reign of *Lewis* the XIth, the Dukes of *Brittany* may be said to have been rather like Allies than Feuditaries.

Affairs of Brittany.
Francis the III.
1462.

Lewis, a few Weeks after his Coronation, took a Tour into *Brittany*, under pretence of visiting the Abby of *St. Saviour's* of *Radon*, where *Francis* paid him Homage: But his real Design was to observe the Situation and Condition of the Country.

Philip, Duke of *Burgundy*, was present at *Lewis's* Coronation, and paid him Homage in Person for the Earldoms of *Flanders*, *Artois*, &c. which was not expected from the Duke of *Brittany*, which we think plainly shews,

Affairs of Burgundy.
Philip.
1463.

that

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that the Dukes of *Brittany* were not looked upon, by even the *French* Court, to have been dependent on that Crown.

Notwithstanding this presumptive Proof
 1464- of the Independency of the Dukes of *Brittany*, in which all *French* Authors concur, *Lewis*, who had formed Designs of despoiling the Duke of his Possessions, raised a formidable Army this Year: But, just as he was on the Point of setting out for the Invasion of *Brittany*, a domestick Storm arose, which seemed to threaten both his Life and Crown. The Princes of the Blood, and the far greater Part of the ancient Nobility, who had been neglected and unemployed ever since his Accession to the Throne, entered into a League for the Maintenance of their own Dignities, and the Rights of the Subjects in general. This Confederacy, called the *League of Publick Good* (*Ligue du bien publique*) was fermented and supported by *Edward* the IVth, and the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brittany*; the Duke of *Berry*, the King's Brother, being at the Head of it, supported by the Duke of *Bourbon*, Brother-in-law to *Lewis*, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Count *de Dunois*, the Count *d'Arminac*, the Count *d'Albert*, of the House of *Navarre*, and most of the prime Nobility, and the City of *Paris*.

The great Men, concerned in this League, retired from *Paris*, some into *Picardy*, to join *Charles*, Son to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was ready to enter *France* on that side; some into the *Southern Provinces* to raise Forces; and some, among whom was the Duke of *Berry*, into *Brittany*, to join Duke *Francis*, who was preparing to act offensively against his Oppressor, *Lewis*, thus environed on every side, by foreign and domestick Foes, was obliged to postpone his Designs upon *Brittany*, in order to preserve his own Life, Crown, and Possessions.

Our Intention not being to enter further into the Detail of this War, than what relates to *Brittany* and *Burgundy*,

Burgundy, we shall only say, that, after the King had been repulsed by *Charles* at *Mont-lery*, near *Orleans*, and at other Posts in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, and some of his Generals defeated by the Duke of *Brittany* about *Chartres*, a Peace 1465. was concluded at *Conflans* on the 30th of *October*, 1465; in which Treaty *Lewis* agreed to the Demands of the Confederates, particularly those of the Duke of *Brittany*, in relation to the Rights and Immunities of his Dutchy, and paid him a Sum of Money to defray the Expences of his 1466. Armament. But we shall soon see, that *Lewis* was one of those Princes, who paid no other Regard to Treaties, than that of Convenience.

For it appears, that in 1467, he dispossessed 1467. his Brother of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, which he had given him by the Treaty of *Conflans*, and constrained him to take Refuge in *Brittany*, where Duke *Francis* received him as an Ally, whom he was obliged to maintain in the Possession of *Normandy*, not only as Guarantee of the Treaty of 1465, but for his own Preservation; therefore he sent Ambassadors to *Lewis* to mediate a Reconciliation between him and his Brother: But *Lewis* had other Views; he designed nothing less than the Conquest of *Brittany*, and had purposely laid his Snare for the Duke, whom he was sure would not abandon his Brother; the Ambassadors of *Brittany* were dismissed, and the Preparations for War were diligently carried on.

The Dukes of *Brittany* and *Berry*, having about this Time concerted Measures with their other Ally, the Duke of *Burgundy*, entered *Normandy* with a good Force, imagining the *Burgundians* would attack *Lewis* on the Side of *Picardy* at the same time: But he had artfully cut out other Work for the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he might meet with less Opposition in his Descent on *Brittany*: This was by fermenting an Insurrection at *Liege*; and his Expectations were so

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fully answered, that he entered *Brittany* at the Head of fifty thousand Men, and carried all before him : Yet being apprehensive, that the Rebellion at *Liege* would be quelled before he could compleat the Conquest, he condescended to grant Duke *Francis* a Peace, but on very hard Terms: One Condition of which was, ' That he should for ever renounce all Alliance with ' the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*.' This Treaty was concluded at *Amiens* in 1467.

Philip the Good, Duke of *Burgundy*, died Charles Duke of Burgundy. on the 15th of *June* this Year, aged 72, and was succeeded by his Son *Charles*, who had had, for some time before his Father's Death, the sole Direction of Affairs. This Duke was twice married ; by his first Wife he had one Daughter, named *Mary* ; but no Children by his second, the famous *Margaret*, Sister to *Edward* the IVth, whom we have already mentioned.

Charles had always been zealous for the Duke of *Brittany* ; and, looking with Regret on the hard Conditions imposed on him by *Lewis*, in the last Treaty, was induced to prepare to enter *France*, after he had quelled the Insurrection at *Liege*. On the other hand, *Lewis* found Means to stir up the Inhabitants of *Liege* a second time ; and, that he might take away all Suspicion from the *Burgundians*, he proposed an Interview, the better to adjust their Differences ; but, happily for Duke *Francis*, the *Gallie* Fox was caught himself in the Snare he laid for the other.

To carry off his Disguise the better, *Lewis* would needs meet *Charles* at *Peronne*, a Fortrefs belonging to *Burgundy* ; where being met, after the usual Compliments, *Lewis* proposed to assist him with Troops, in order to reduce the Rebellion at *Liege*, and offered him three hundred thousand Crowns, if he would abandon the Duke of *Brittany*.

But *Charles* rejected the Proposal with Disdain ; and, that it might be out of *Lewis's* Power, to execute his Designs on *Brittany*, whilst he himself should be employed against *Liege*, he compelled him to accompany him in Person to the Siege of that rebellious City, and obliged him likewise to revoke the Treaty of *Amiens* : By this last Act *Brittany* was preserved, and that at a Time when it was almost impossible she should support herself against the whole Power of *France*.

England, during these Transactions, was not idle ; for she not only armed at this Juncture in favour of *Britanny*, but her Monarch, a little Time after, acted the prudential Patriot and Politician on the following Occasion.

Whilst *Lewis* accompanied *Charles*, he proposed a Match between the Duke of *Berry*, his Brother, and *Charles's* only Daughter, *Mary*. Our *Edward* the IVth, on hearing this, was justly alarmed at such an Alliance, which would, if it took place, raise the Power of *France* to an Height, that must have given Umbrage to all *Europe*, especially to *England* ; who, as she had been a constant Check to the Ambition of that Crown, was the first that would, in all probability, feel the Weight of her Resentment. Wisely then foreseeing the Consequence of such a Match, he, as it were, moved Heaven and Earth to prevent its Accomplishment, and wrote to the Duke in the most moving Terms ; his Expressions in the Letter are worthy of a Prince, who had the future Prosperity of his own Kingdom, and that of *Europe* at Heart.

‘ Can you so forget your own constant Maxim, for
‘ the Preservation of the Ballance of Power, as to
‘ bestow your Daughter and your Possessions on a
‘ Prince who is likely to succeed to the Crown. It
‘ is possible I may be able to preserve my Kingdom
‘ from the impending Ruin, whilst I have Health
‘ and Vigour to defend her against the Ambition of
‘ *France*;

‘ *France* ; but, perhaps, when you and I are no more, she will, by this Addition of Strength, dictate to *England* and the rest of *Europe*.’ Happy had it been for this Nation, if all our Monarchs had been endowed with *Edward*’s Penetration, and had been actuated, like him, with Love for their Country.

This Letter had, in part, the desired Effect ; it putting off the Match for the present.

The Beginning of the Year 1472, the Truce 1472. between *Charles* and *Lewis* was changed into a perpetual Peace ; by which the former Prince left *Brittany* entirely at the Mercy of the latter. It is true, *Charles* obtained very large Concessions from *Lewis*, who was still intent on the Conquest of *Brittany*.

Charles, like *Lewis*, had no Thought of observing the Treaty, tho’ he had sworn to it, as is apparent from the Letter he writ to Duke *Francis* ; in which he says, ‘ That what he had done was to recover the Possession of his Fortresses on the *Somme* ; and that, tho’ *Lewis* might think he had abandoned him, (the *Breton*) yet he should find in him a bitter Enemy, in case he should attack him. That it was true, he had sworn to observe the Treaty ; but as *Lewis* had sworn and violated his Oaths, as to the Treaties of *Conflans* and *Peronne*, he could not take it amiss, that he should follow his Example in the present.’

Historians report, that *Charles* did not want Sense, but had not that solid Understanding which is necessary for conducting Affairs of Weight and Consequence ; that his Non-observance of Treaties, the Variety of them, his double Dealing, and the little Faith that was to be reposed in him, in the End, rendered him contemptible to all his Neighbours, and lost him their Friendship.

Lewis, apprehending that he had now a fine 1473 Opportunity to carry his favourite Point, in the

the following Year entered *Brittany* at the Head of threescore thousand Men, and would have stripped the Duke of his Dominions that Campaign, if he had not met with a Check from our *Edward* the IVth, who had taken the Alarm, and was just setting out with a powerful Army, in order to assist the Duke; which *Lewis* hearing of, he granted a Peace, at *Pont de See*, to Duke *Francis*, who, tho' much to his Disadvantage, was glad of any Terms, finding that he was not at that Time in a Condition to withstand the Power of *Lewis*. *Francis* was obliged in this Treaty to disclaim all Alliances with *Charles* of *Burgundy*, whose Destruction *Lewis* had also long meditated, and who neither was then in a State alone to oppose the ambitious Designs of the *French* Court.

Thus *Charles*, by his own mistaken Policy, endangered the Loss of his own Dominions, as well as those of *Brittany*.

France, having thus artfully withdrawn 1475. *Charles* from his Alliance with Duke *Francis*, prepared a mighty Army, and determined instantly to attack Duke *Charles's* Dominions, who had fillily, about the Year 1475, engaged himself in the Siege of *Nuiz*, near *Cologne*, in virtue of a Donation made him by the Duke of *Guelders*, which gave *Lewis* a fair Opportunity to invade him; and he would certainly have fallen a Sacrifice, had not our gallant *Edward* passed the Seas into *Picardy*, at the Head of a well-chosen Army, and rescued his Brother-in-law out of *Lewis's* Hands; whereby he preserved the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, and drove him back into *France*.

Lewis, finding *Edward* resolute in assisting the Duke of *Burgundy*, was glad to conclude a Peace with him; which was signed near *Amiens* on the 28th of *August* this Year; in which Treaty Care was taken both of the Interest of *Charles*, and that of the Duke of *Brittany*; although a Marriage, between *Ed-*

ward's

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ward's Daughter *Elizabeth*, and *Lewis's* only Son *Charles*, was therein stipulated, yet that did not alter his Sentiments ; he wisely foreseeing the Views and Designs of *Lewis*, was determined, at the Hazard of his Crown, to stop him in his Career, before he should grow too formidable for his Neighbours.

After the Conclusion of the Treaty and Marriage, there was an Interview between *Edward* and *Lewis* at *Preguini*, a Village near *Amiens*, which did not answer what *Lewis* had in View : For whenever *Lewis* touched upon the Strings of *Burgundy* and *Brittany*, *Edward* grew reserved and impatient ; so that our *French Ulysses* was obliged to drop the Discourse : But, tho' thus disappointed, he was too cunning to give over the Pursuit. He imagined, as *Edward* and *Charles* were Brothers by Marriage, that that was the Reason of *Edward's* Attachment to the House of *Burgundy* ; but as there was no such Tye in respect to *Brittany*, he hoped to prevail on *Edward* to abandon that Duke : For this Purpose, he soon after sent Ambassadors to *Edward*, who was then at *Calais* ; these Gentlemen, in order to give a greater Weight to their Negotiations, were furnished with magnificent Presents, both for the King and his Ministers ; but they were greatly disappointed, *Edward* absolutely refusing to grant the *French King's* Request ; and, to put an End to all future Intreaties on the Side of *France*, he publicly declared, in the Presence of the *French Ambassadors*, ' That if ever *France*, during his ' Life, did attempt to molest his good Ally the Duke ' of *Brittany*, he would repass the Sea in Person to ' assist him, and revenge his Quarrel.'

Here was a Saying worthy of an *English King* ! who preferred the future Good of his Kingdom to the immediate Interest of his own Daughter, whom he must then look on as entitled to the Diadem of *France*. Here was a glorious Indication of his Wisdom and Resolution ! Happy had it been for us, if

Henry

Henry the VIIth had been as steadily prudential! It is more than probable, if he had, that *Brittany* would not have been annexed to the Crown of *France*, even at this Day; which would have prevented her dictating so imperiously to her Neighbours, as she has done for almost a Century and a half.

Lewis, failing in his Attempt to divert *Edward* from his Regard to the Duke of *Brittany*, thought it best to do that Justice voluntarily, which he saw he should be compelled to; therefore granted Duke *Francis* all he could wish for, in relation to the Sovereignty of his Dutchy; and agreed, that all Things should be on the antient Footing. This solemn Treaty was confirmed at *Senlis* the Beginning of this Year.

But we shall soon find *Lewis* returning to the old Game, and meditating the Conquest of *Brittany* as ardently as before. He strove, however, now to arm himself with a more specious Pretence, than he had yet had; and for this Purpose procured a Donation or Cession of an old Pretension, which one *Bonssac* had to the Dutchy, in Right of his Wife, who was of the House of *Brittany*. Duke *Francis* saw what this Cession tended to, and prudently acquainted his faithful Ally, *Edward*, of *Lewis's* Designs.

Whilst *Lewis* was thus casting his Measures, *Charles* of *Burgundy*, who had for some time turned his Arms another Way, was killed before *Nancy* on the 5th of *January*, which diverted for the present *Lewis's* Intentions upon *Brittany*, to make way for his Designs in the *Netherlands*, *Burgundy* being exposed and defenceless by the Loss of the Duke and his best Troops.

Charles was succeeded by his Daughter, *Mary*, at nineteen Years of Age, who saw herself forsaken, not only by the Friends of her late Father on the Continent, but by our *Edward* also, who was much changed from what he had been;

Mary
Dutchess of
Burgundy.

for,

for, as he ripened in Years, he grew indolent and covetous, and was more easily persuaded to suffer *France* to go on with her Conquest; and it is not improbable, that the Match, concluded between his Daughter and the Dauphin, had somewhat influenced him, being afraid of losing, if he should assist against *Lewis*, the Remittance of 50,000 Crowns a Year, regularly paid him at the Tower of *London*, by Virtue of the last Peace, as a Maintenance for the Dauphiness in *England*, so called.

On the Death of Duke *Charles*, *Lewis* got into his Hands *Peronne*, *Hans*, *Bouchain*, *St. Quintin*, *Montdidier*; he also got delivered up by Bribes *Arras*, *Hesdin*, *Bologne*, and *Cambray*; and, as a Lure to the States of both *Burgundies*, he declared, he did not seize upon any Part of those Countries to detain them, but to preserve them only for the Princess, against the *Swiss* and *Germans*: Yet, when he thought himself secure, he changed his Note, and declared his Titles, to wit, that of Reversion for want of Heirs Male to the Dutchy, and that of Donation, because, as he pretended, it had been given to the Crown of *France* by Count *Otho* the Vth, when he married his Daughter to *Philip the Long*.

Indeed the greatest Disorder, in the Affairs of the Princess of *Burgundy* was occasioned by the *Ghentois*, who were stirred up by *Lewis*: For, as soon as they heard of the Duke's Death, they rose in Arms, killed their Magistrates, seized on the Person of their Princess, and would needs manage every Thing at their Pleasure. Those of her Council were the late Duke's Widow, the Lord *Ravestein*, the Chancellor *Hugonet*, and the Lord *Imbercourt*, who called to their Assistance the Bishop of *Liege*, the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Count of *St. Paul's* Son; who were very much divided about the Marriage of the Princess.

In the mean Time the Deputies of *Ghent* attended the *French* King on the Behalf of the States of *Flanders*,

ders, and alledged, they had full Power to negotiate a Peace. *Lewis*, on the other hand, to keep up the Divisions he had artfully raised, shewed them Letters from the Dutchess's Court, that intimated quite the contrary; on which they ignorantly, as soon as they returned home, without examining into the Truth of the Letters, seized both *Hugonet* and *Imbercourt*, two of the Dutchess's faithful Ministers; and, notwithstanding the Prayers and humble Entreaties of the poor Princess, who, with dishevelled Hair, came to the Place of Execution to beg their Lives, cut off their Heads. With the same brutish Fury they removed *Ravestein*, and the Dutchess Dowager from her, and assigned her a Council of their own chusing.

Soon after this cruel Execution, they con- Maximilian, sented that *Maximilian*, Son to the Empe- Duke of ror *Frederick*, should marry their Princess; Burgundy. and accordingly the Marriage was consummated at *Ghent* about the End of *July*; but he was so poor, that his Princess was forced to be at the Charge of the Wedding, his Equipage, and Maintenance of his Servants: She had little Advantage at first by her Marriage, either from *Maximilian's* Father, or his rich Uncle *Sigismund*: However, *Lewis*, in respect to the Emperor, entered into an Agreement with *Maximilian*, and granted him a Truce for a Year. Some relate, that *Lewis* restored to him *Quesnoy*, *Bouchain*, and *Cambray*, which were within the Territories belonging to the Empire; but others aver, that they drove out the *French* Garrisons, and surrendered to *Maximilian*.

Upon the Expiration of the Truce, 1478. *Maximilian* had recourse to Arms, and caused some Forces to enter into that Part of *Burgundy* that was possessed by the *French*, who, in short, succeeded more by the Affection of the People, concerned for the Race of their antient Princes, than

thro' any great Matters these Forces did. It's true, they took *Chaftillon*, *Bar*, *Semur*, and divers other Places, and with so much Ease, that if the Emperor had assisted his Son ever so little, he had at that Time reconquered all the Dutchy : But *d'Amboise*, who had Men and Money enough, soon chased poor *Maximilian* out of the Places he had taken ;
 1479. whereupon the Truce was again renewed for some Months.

But, as soon as the second Truce was expired, *Cbaumont*, the *French* General, scoured all the Country before him, even to *Doll*, which was delivered up thro' the Treachery of the *German* Forces ; and they introduced the *French*, who sacked and destroyed it in such a Manner, that it became a Heap of Ruins. At the same time, *Maximilian*, with his Forces, laid Siege to *Tournay* ; but on the Approach of the *French* Army under *Desquerdes*, he drew off to give him Battle : They engaged near the Village of *Gwynegaste*, where the *Flemings* at first were forced to give Ground ; but the *French* pushing their Charge too far, the Counts of *Nassau* and *Romant*, rallying their Troops, put them to Flight, and obliged the Enemy to quit the Field, which gained *Maximilian* no little Reputation, and was the Means of putting the Affairs of *Burgundy* upon a much better Footing.

In *March* this Year, *Lewis* happened to be
 1480. at a Village near *Cbinon*, where he was suddenly deprived of his Speech and Senses, neither of which did he recover for two Days ; and even then his Body remained weak and languishing, under which Indisposition he laboured to his Death.

Being in this Condition, he was glad to make a Truce with *Maximilian* for seven Months,
 1481. to commence from *August* ; and the same was afterwards prolonged for a further Time.

Thro' these Proceedings, the Dutcheffs of *Burgundy's* Affairs begun to have a favourable Aspect, and had

a good Prospect of enjoying Peace for the future ; but she was then taken off by a Fall from her Horse as she was going a Hunting, and died at *Ghent* the 25th of *May*, being pregnant ; 1482. however she left two Children behind her, *Philip* and *Margaret*, of whom we shall speak more in the Course of this History.

Upon the Death of the Dutcheſs, her only Son *Philip* ſucceeded as Duke of *Burgundy* ; and ſoon after War between *Lewis* and *Maximilian* was again renewed, and carried on with great Vigour and various Succeſs on both Sides ; but at length it was terminated by a Match between *Charles* the Dauphin, and *Margaret*, *Maximilian's* Daughter, who was then ſcarce two Years of Age, and *Charles* not thirteen. This Treaty was concluded at *Clory*, where *Lewis* then was ; but *Margaret* was not carried into *France* till the *April* following, and the Wedding was celebrated at *Amboiſe* in *July*, 1483, which Match, as was ſaid, gave ſo great Uneaſineſs to our *Edward*, that it haſtened his Death, tho' it afterwards came to nothing.

Lewis was now, by this Agreement, at full Liberty to put his Deſigns on *Brittany* in Execution ; and for that End he again prepared for the Conqueſt of that *Dutchy*. In the firſt Place he ſeized a large Quantity of Arms, which Duke *Francis* had cauſed to be made for him at *Milan* ; next he endeavoured to prevail on the King of *Aragon* to abandon the Duke, and drop the Alliance he had lately made with him for his Defence. So ſure was *Lewis* of being able to reduce *Brittany*, that he rejected the Alliance of *Richard* the III^d of *England*, who earneſtly ſought his Friendſhip : But the Subduction of *Brittany* was not yet come ; for *Lewis's* Death put an End to his vaſt Deſigns, and left the Completion of them to his Succeſſor.

This King died in the Month of *March* this Year, who had, without all Dispute, great Talents for governing, having a wonderful Vivacity of Judgment, a singular Quickness of Imagination, a great deal of Art and Facility of Speech, great Courage in War, and a Liberality worthy the primitive Heroes. Nevertheless, he had no Sincerity of Heart, his Resolutions never aimed at any Thing but Craft and Disguise; he had really a Medley of Qualities as opposite to each other, as they were contrary to his own Repose and Glory. During his Time Iron Cages were made to confine State Prisoners; and a finishing Stroke was put to the Authority of the antient Parliaments of *France*.

Two Things happened very remarkable in his Reign, to wit, a League was made between the *French* and the *Swiss*, whereby the latter undertook to assist the former with Troops for hire, which was the first League that was made of that kind; the other was the Settlement of the *Post*, which has since been of infinite Advantage to the Publick in general. To sum up *Lewis's* Character in a Word, tho' he was allowed to have some good Qualities, yet he was generally esteemed a very cruel Prince.

He caused *Charles* his only Son to be educated at *Amboise*, and, save his ordinary Servants, none were admitted to his Presence.

Notwithstanding this Prince had met Charles VIII, King of France, with such Usage, he ascended the Throne on his Father's Death, by the Name of *Charles* the VIIIth; and there was no Dispute about a Regency, because, as he was entered into his fourteenth Year, he was no longer a Minor, according to the irrevocable Ordinance of *Charles* the Vth, who settled the Age of Majority: But this Age did not exempt him from the Necessity of having some Person about him, on whom he might rely for the Management of Affairs, and who in his Name might exercise the chief Authority in the Government.

The late King had, before his Death, declared it to be his Pleasure, that *Ann of France*, his eldest Daughter, should have the Administration (during the Minority of his Son) who was called *Madam de Beaujeu*. She is described in History as a Lady of superior Talents, of a penetrating and judicious Understanding, courageous and constant, exempt from the ordinary Foibles of her Sex, and every way qualified by sundry great Endowments for the Direction and Command of the State.

At the same time the Court was divided between two other Rivals for the Regency, namely *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, and *John Duke of Bourbon*; each of whom had his Abettors, and thought of forming a Party, which unhappy Competition held all *France* in Suspense. *Madam de Beaujeu*, who foresaw the dangerous Consequences of these Divisions, proposed an Expedient whereby to end them, viz. to refer the Matter to the Determination of the Assembly of the States; to which Proposal the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* were obliged to consent, and the States were ordered to assemble to settle the Point: But the Duke of *Orleans*, in the mean time, to secure a proper Retreat, in case he should be disappointed in his Pretensions, entered into a close Alliance with the Duke of *Brittany*, whereby he secured such Assistance as would enable him to defend himself against his Enemies; and the Reason, that at first prevailed on the Duke of *Brittany* to declare for the Duke of *Orleans*, was owing to the following Accident.

Francis the II^d, Duke of *Brittany*, had a Favourite, named *Landois*, who we have before mentioned; he was, as some Historians relate, only the Son of a poor Taylor at *Vitre*, and, by being employed by the Duke's Taylor as a Journeyman, had some Access to the Palace; where he was first taken Notice of, for his Vivacity, by some of those that had been employed by the Duke in his Love Intrigues. He no sooner got

Admission

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Admission to Court, than he made his Way, even over the Shoulders of those who had been the Instruments of his being taken notice of; for he was bold and ambitious, and never tied down by Conscience, Honour, or Gratitude: He was so assiduous in his Function of Pimping, that the Duke thought it proper to raise him to the important Post of Treasurer, against the Advice of those who was his most faithful Servants. But others aver, *Landois* was a Man of as much Craft and Subtilty as any at that Time in *Europe*. The *Breton* Nobility, whom he depressed, conspired to destroy him; their first Attempt proved unsuccessful, and the Sentence, that was given against them, was no less than Death, which obliged several of them to quit *Brittany*, in order to avoid falling a Sacrifice to the Favourite's Revenge, who applied to the Lady *Ann* of *Beaujeu*, to obtain the King, her Brother's Protection, which he was pleased to grant them.

Landois, on the other hand, seeing his Enemies had recourse to the Lady *Ann*, thought he could not do better than rely on the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans*. To that End he intreated him to come to the Court of *Brittany*, assuring him, that he should not want the Duke his Master's Assistance upon all Occasions; and the Duke, pleased with the Hopes *Landois* had inspired him with, came to *Brittany*, where he was extremely careffed.

Madam *de Beaujeu*, who had Reason to suspect, that some Ill might ensue from the Duke of *Orleans* being so kindly received, and staying in *Brittany*, procured an Order from the King, to require him to return immediately to *France*, to assist in the States assembled at *Tours*, and at the King's Coronation. There could have been no Pretence for recalling him more specious than this, and the Duke of *Orleans* had no visible Reason to excuse his Compliance with these two Duties; therefore he took Leave of the Duke

of *Brittany*, but not without a great Cross to his own Inclinations.

The first important Affair that the States went on, was the Choice of a fit Person, to whose Care the King might be committed. *Madam de Beaujeu* had so dextrously contrived Matters, as to be sure of Success; she had already persuaded the Duke of *Bourbon* to lay aside his Pretensions, by assuring him of the Dignity of Constable, which he fondly desired. In a Word, this Duke's Adherents and hers united, so that her Faction in the States became incomparably stronger than that of the Duke of *Orleans*; and it was there resolved, that, in Compliance with the Intentions of the late King, *Madam Ann of France* should have the Charge and Care of his Majesty's sacred Person, till his Age and Experience would permit him to govern alone.

Madam de Beaujeu having gained her principal Design, and seeing her Authority confirmed by that of the States, thought only of preserving a Harmony, and acting in Concert with them, in regard to the Government of the Kingdom; insomuch, that every Thing was transacted in that Assembly with much more Agreement and Unanimity than could have been expected.

As soon as the States were dismissed, Preparations were made for the King's Coronation, and the Ceremony was performed at *Rheims*, on the 30th of *May*. *Madam de Beaujeu*, with the Council, which consisted of the Princes of the Blood, and twelve Persons chosen, or approved of, by the States, proceeded in taking Care of the important Affairs of the Kingdom.

The Duke of *Orleans* was by no means satisfied with the Determination of the States; and, as soon as the Coronation was over, he quitted the Court, and came from *Tours* to *Paris*, where, by his Magnificence, he drew the Eyes of all the World upon him, and

and endeavoured to gain the Affections of the Inhabitants by popular Methods and Liberality. He affected to appear often in Publick, sometimes at Tennis, sometimes at the Horse-races, and other Exercises, in which he had a Grace and Behaviour above every Body, and gained the Applause of all the Spectators: But this was not all, he went often to the Town-house, assisted in almost all the Meetings, and concerned himself with every thing that was transacted there.

The Lady *Beaujeu* was not ignorant of what passed at *Paris*; and therefore, to prevent any Inconvenience from what the Duke might intend, she, by the Advice of the King's Council, sent a Messenger to arrest him; but, before he arrived, the Duke withdrew.

After he was got safe out of the Hands of his Enemies, he began to form a League against the Court, and had actually raised some Forces. *Ann* of *Beaujeu*, being informed of *Orleans's* Proceedings, immediately caused the King to march against him with such Expedition, that he was forced to accept of the King's Pardon, and lay down his Arms, because his Friends were not yet ready to assist him. The Earl of *Dunois*, who was considered as his chief Adviser, was banished to *Aff* in *Piedmont*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Orleans*, with a Command not to stir from thence without the King's express License.

The Duke, being thus compelled to dismiss his Forces, the greatest Part of them listed in the Duke of *Brittany's* Army against the condemned Lords; on which, *Ann* of *Beaujeu* sent to the Assistance of those Lords Part of the King's Troops.

The Success of the Expedition against the Duke of *Orleans* was much to the Honour of *Madam de Beaujeu*: But she had too much good Sense to lay any great Stress on the Fidelity of a Prince, that quitted

his Arms out of meer Necessity, which Consideration put her on her Guard ; and we shall soon see she was right in so doing.

Orleans continued to rely on the Duke of *Brittany's* Assistance against the Court, which that Duke readily promised, for that as he had been greatly persecuted by *Lewis* the XIth, during his whole Reign, he believed *Ann of Beaujeu* was of the like Disposition, and followed the same Maxims ; he thought he could not do better than assist the Duke of *Orleans*, who, he doubted not, would return the like Favour, in case he should be attacked by *Ann of Beaujeu* ; these being the Views of both Princes, after some private Negotiations, they formed a League together, into which came *John de Challons*, Prince of *Orange*, Nephew to the Duke of *Brittany*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Angouleme*, the Earl of *Dunois*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and several other Princes and Lords.

The Beginning of *January* the Earl of 1485. *Dunois* returned into *France* without Leave, and withdrew to his Seat at *Partnay* in *Poitou*. The King was yet ignorant of the Duke of *Orleans's* Designs ; but the Earl's Return convincing him some Plot was contriving in favour of *Orleans*, (who was gone to *Blois*) his Majesty sent him a positive Order to repair to Court, which the Duke obeyed upon a second Summons ; but next Day, being informed some Ill was intended him, he feigned to go a Hunting, instead thereof, he immediately returned into *Brittany*, where he was kindly received ; and was soon followed by the Nobles concerned in the League.

Whilst the Duke of *Orleans* was at the Duke of *Brittany's* Court, *Landois* every Day made himself more odious than before to the People, by his wicked Proceedings, which put the condemned Lords upon forming a new Plot against him : And, for the bet-

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ter executing their Design, *France*, and several of their Fellow-Subjects assisted them both with Men and Money.

Landois, hearing of what was forming against him, before the End of *January*, levied an Army
 1486. in the Name of the Duke his Master, and put himself at their Head. In short, Matters at last were arrived at such Issue, that both Parties were on the Point of coming to Blows. At that Instant, the condemned Lords caused it to be represented to those that opposed them, 'That they did not appear in behalf of their common Master the Duke, but of *Landois* his wicked Minister; that it was unjust to shed the Blood of their Countrymen in the Quarrel of a Man who had notoriously abused his Master's Confidence: That therefore, to appease at once the Troubles of *Brittany*, there was a much more natural and ready Way than that of Arms, namely, to rid themselves of this unworthy Favourite; after which, not a Man would refuse to render due Obedience to the Duke.' The Barons of the Duke's Party, after some Consultation, approved of their Proposal, and declared, that they thought it was for the Interest of the Duke and the Country in general, that *Landois* should be secured. *Landois*, hearing both Parties were contriving some Mischief against him, caused a Declaration to be drawn up in the Duke's Name, wherein he set forth, That those under his Command, who held Intelligence with the other Army, should be deemed Rebels; but this only served to hasten his Ruin. The Chancellor refused to seal the Declaration, and informed the Lords of it, who resolved to have no further Regard for the Favourite; so, without giving him Time to take other Measures, they went in a Body to the Palace, and seized *Landois* in the Duke's own Apartment, who was forced to deliver him, on no better Terms, than that
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the Lords should not proceed against him, other than by due Course of Law, they promising he should be fully heard in his Defence. In fact, he was imprisoned, and forthwith tried, and the Gibbet was the last Place *Landois's* Ambition raised him to; for, being found guilty of Crimes worthy of Death, they made no more to do, but hanged up this troublesome Minister on the common Gallows at *Nantz*, the 18th of *July*. The Proceedings against *Landois* was carried on with so much Expedition, that he was tried, condemned and executed before the Duke knew his Projects was formed.

If *Landois* could have contained himself, and been contented with an Employment suitable to his Capacity, he might long have enjoyed the Favour of his Master unenvied; nay, if he had been satisfied with exercising even the Office of Treasurer, he would have been safe; but, like most Favourites, giddy with Power, he engrossed to himself the whole Government of the Dutchy, all the other Ministers of the Duke being mere Cyphers. He permitted no Man to share with him in the Management of Affairs; so jealous was he, and so fond of Power, that he would not admit the meanest Employments to be disposed of without his Approbation.

It is no wonder a Man of his Cast should fall; it is rather to be admired that he held his Post so long. If *Francis* the 11d had been capable of seeing into the true Interest of his Family, he would never have transferred his Power to a Man who was become obnoxious to his Subjects; but he was both wilful and obstinate, as most weak Men are.

One cannot conceive a greater Grief, than what the Duke of *Brittany* felt, when he heard of his favourite Minister's Fate; nevertheless, he was forced to contain himself, and grant a Pardon to all the Lords that had been concerned in putting him to

death, for fear of being intangled in a bloody War the latter Part of his Life ; ‘ but this would not ‘ serve his Turn, (says *Mizerai*) the Time was come ‘ to put an End to that Estate.’

The Duke of *Brittany*, after the Death of *Landois*, did not know who to trust with the Administration of his Affairs ; he considered still his Barons as so many Enemies, tho’ he had granted them a Pardon. The Duke of *Orleans* finding him thus embarrassed, gained such an Ascendant over him, that he governed *Brittany* as if he had been the Sovereign. The Advantages he enjoyed in that Country, where almost every thing was at his Disposal, drew thither many *Frenchmen*, who came to offer him their Service. Mean while the Duke of *Brittany* assembled the States, caused his eldest Daughter *Ann* to be declared Heiress of the Dutchy, and, in case she died without Issue, it was decreed *Isabel*, her younger Sister, should succeed.

The Lords of *Brittany*, newly reconciled to their Sovereign, perceiving the Duke of *Orleans* ruled absolutely in the Duke’s Name, and that the *French* flocked to him in Crowds, began to entertain Suspicions of their Prince ; and were afraid he had sent for all these Strangers to help him to be revenged of them for their Outrages on his Favourite : In this Belief they assembled at *Chateaubriant*, to consult what was to be done, to prevent the Danger with which they thought themselves threatned, being headed by the Lord of *Rieux*, Marshal of *Brittany*.

Charles the VIIIth, being still Intent upon the Conquest of *Brittany*, and as the Duke of *Orleans* managed the Affairs in that Dutchy, the King was apprehensive that he intended to make use of the Duke of *Brittany*’s Forces, to raise fresh Troubles in *France*, and therefore thought it his Interest to cherish

with the Discontent of the *Breton* Lords to serve both his Designs. To that End he sent to the Barons, assembled at *Chateaubriant*, *Andrew d'Epinay*, Cardinal of *Bourdeaux*, with an Offer of his Protection, which was gladly received by many of them, who perhaps were already gained by the Court of *France*; but others, foreseeing the Inconveniencies that might follow, were for rejecting it: They alledged the several Attempts of *Charles's* Predecessors to become Masters of *Brittany*, and how dangerous it was to admit the *French* into their Country: In fine, to prevent this Mischief, it was agreed, that a Treaty should be made with the King to determine the Number of Men he was to find them, in case of need; pursuant to which Resolution, they and the Cardinal signed a League, importing,

‘ That the *Breton* Lords should immediately take
 ‘ up Arms for King *Charles*, and not lay them
 ‘ down till the Duke of *Orleans*, the Earl of *Du-*
 ‘ *nois* and the other *French* Malecontents were de-
 ‘ parted *Brittany*; and that *Charles* should send four
 ‘ hundred Launces, and four thousand Foot to the
 ‘ Assistance of the Confederate Lords for the Estab-
 ‘ lishment of the Peace, between the King and the
 ‘ Duke of *Brittany*, which Forces should depart
 ‘ thence as soon as those Points were accomplished;
 ‘ and it was agreed that the King should not take,
 ‘ or besiege any Place in the Dutchy, save for the
 ‘ End proposed from the League, nor make any de-
 ‘ mand in Respect to his Pretensions thereto until
 ‘ *Francis's* Death.’

Charles was extremely rejoiced upon receiving the News of the Conclusion of this Treaty, and instantly ratified it; but, as he afterwards shewed, he had other Designs far different from what the *Breton* Lords proposed from the Agreement.

About this Time the Duke of *Brittany* was taken dangerously ill, and the King advanced as far as

Tours, with a Design to enter *Brittany*, in case of the Duke's Death ; but, he recovering, the King returned to *Ambois* in *November*, where he held several Conferences with the *Breton* Lords, relating to compelling the Duke of *Orleans* and his Adherents to quit *Brittany*. After settling these Points the King returned to *Paris* ; and with these Transactions ended the Year 1486.

1487. At the opening this Year the Lady *Beaujeu* was wholly taken up with her Friends, in endeavouring to reclaim the *French* Princes that had declared for the Duke of *Orleans* ; plying the Count of *Angoulesme* so closely, that he was obliged to have recourse to the King's Clemency ; and she managed the Duke of *Bourbon* with so much Art and Contrivance, that she entirely gained him, and reconciled him with *Mons. de Beaujeu* her Husband, this Prince's younger Brother. The great Power of the Younger raised a Jealousy in the elder Brother ; but Means were found to convince him, that it was for the Interest both of the Government and the House of *Bourbon*, that a good Harmony should be settled between them ; the Count of *Vendosme* being the Person that managed this Accommodation.

On the other hand, the Duke of *Orlean's* Friends in *France* were not idle ; they formed several Schemes in order to assist him, one of which was, to carry off the King, who would, as some Authors say, have warranted them therein ; this would have ended the Quarrel to the Duke's Advantage ; but, the Contrivance having taken Air, by means of a Valet, *Comines*, and some others, who had the Management of the Conspiracy, were arrested.

Comines, according to his own Account, was confined Prisoner near three Years, eight Months of which he was shut up in an Iron Cage before he was brought to his Tryal, and then he was condemned by Sentence of the Court of Parliament to lose the fourth

Part

Part of his Estate, and to remain a Prisoner for ten Years in one of his Houses.

Father *Daniel* observes, that the Reason *Comines* engaged in this Conspiracy was principally owing to his being disgusted at his not having the same Regard paid to him in this Reign, as had been in that of the former; and which this Author condemns as contrary to the noble Morality that *Comines* from time to time suggests in his History, concerning the Honesty and Fidelity of Subjects to their Princes, and intimates, that he was one of the evil Counsellors, that advised the Duke of *Bourbon* to join the Duke of *Orleans* against his Sovereign.

After the Duke of *Orleans's* Projects in *France* had miscarried, *Charles* became very intent to execute his Designs upon *Brittany*: Early in the Spring he sent three different Armies into that Country; the one commanded by the Lord of *St. Andre*, another by the Count of *Montpesier*, and the other by *Lewis de Trimoville*, under Pretence of assisting the discontented Lords, pursuant to the Treaty he had made with them. The first alone was six thousand strong, which exceeded the Number he had promised to find by the Treaty. Upon the News of this Invasion the Duke of *Brittany*, seeing himself forsaken by several of his Barons, retired into the Centre of his Country, accompanied by the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Earl of *Dunois*, with some other *French* Lords of the Duke of *Orleans's* Party; and, staying some time at *Maletroit*, he very hastily assembled an Army of sixteen thousand Men, ill armed, and undisciplined.

The *French* Troops joined at *Ploermel*, which was taken by Storm and pillaged; from thence they marched to *Vannes* to besiege the Duke of *Brittany*, who had retired thither; when this Prince would certainly have been taken, if the Prince of *Orange* had not arrived by Sea with some Vessels, in one of which he made him embark, and go with him to *Nantz*. *Vannes,*

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us, being terrified with the Flight of their Sovereign, surrendered without making any Resistance.

The *French Army*, being thus flushed with Success, proceeded to *Nantz*, and laid Siege to it; which was a strong and well fortified City for those Times, and had in it a numerous Garrison, at the Head of which his Highness had just put himself, being seconded by the Duke of *Orleans* and many of the *French* and *Breton* Nobility so that it made a vigorous Defence.

When *Charles's Army* came before *Nantz*, he hearing that our *Henry the VIIth* had defeated *Lambert Simnel*, in order to divert him from interfering in the Affairs of *Brittany*, (as he had now Leisure to do) sent Ambassadors into *England*, with Instructions to acquaint his Majesty, ' That
' their Master, looking upon him as his best Friend,
' had sent them to impart to him the good Success
' of the *French Arms* in *Brittany*, and likewise to
' congratulate him on his Victory over his rebellious Subjects: To assure him, that *Charles* was
' forced to enter into this War with the Duke of
' *Brittany*, upon the Account of his sheltering the
' Duke of *Orleans*:—And, that therefore it ought
' to be deem'd, strictly speaking, defensive only, notwithstanding he had caused an Army to enter that
' Dutchy; for he who gave the first Blow was not
' to be reckon'd the Aggressor, but he that gave the
' Provocation.—Upon the whole, they declared that,
' from the Equity of the King of *England*, *France* had
' Reason to hope he would not assist *Brittany* in
' so ill-grounded a Quarrel; but on the contrary
' would aid their Sovereign, his real Friend, or at
' least stand neuter.'

In answer to this, *Henry* told them in general,
' That of all the Persons in the World he was indebted to none so highly as to the King of *France*
' and the Duke of *Brittany*, for which Reason he was desirous

‘ desirous to give them both real Marks of his Gratitude ; and therefore he would take the present Opportunity to discharge the Duty of a true Friend, by endeavouring to heal their Differences in an amicable Manner, and would very speedily dispatch Ambassadors to them to offer his Mediation.’

Historians tell us, that *Henry* was not so blind as not to see what the King of *France* was driving at ; but, unluckily for *England* as well as *Brittany*, he was possessed with a Notion, that *Charles* could never be able to put his Designs in Execution. He grounded his Confidence on the Forces of *Brittany*, which had hitherto withstood *France* successfully ; on the fickle Temper of the *French*, whose Heat is soon abated by Difficulties ; on the Troubles which the Duke of *Orleans* could raise in the Kingdom, by means of his Friends ; and on the Diversion which the King of the *Romans* might make in *Flanders*.

This being *Henry*’s present Opinion, pursuant thereto he sent Ambassadors to King *Charles* to offer his Mediation ; and, in case it was accepted, they had likewise Orders to go and make the same Offer to Duke *Francis*. *Charles* was then employed in the Siege of *Nantz*, and, as he hoped to be soon Master of that Place, he saw nothing capable afterwards of hindering him from wholly subduing *Brittany* ; wherefore all his Endeavours tended only to order the Matter so, that *Henry* should send no Succours to the Duke of *Brittany*, before *Nantz* was taken.

When the Ambassadors had offered him the Mediation of the King their Master, *Charles* answered with a great deal of Diffimulation, ‘ That he willingly consented the King of *England* should act not only as Mediator between him and the Duke of *Brittany*, but as Judge, and that Matters should be left to him to decide as he pleased.’ He was in Hopes, either that the Duke of *Brittany* would reject this Proposal, or that, in case he closed with it, it would not

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be impossible to gain as much Time as might serve his Turn.

His Majesty's Ministers, imagining they had got over the greatest Difficulty, repaired to the Duke of *Brittany*, who was shut up in *Nantz*, and made him the same Offer from their Master. The Duke of *Orleans* told them, in the Name of that Prince, ' That, at a Time when his Country was invaded, and ready to be swallowed up by the *French*, he expected actual Succours from the King of *England*, rather than a Mediation, which must needs be fruitless, since nothing was more easy, than to spin out a Negotiation till *Brittany* was lost: That he intreated the King to call to mind the Favours he had received from the Duke, and consider of what Consequence it was to *England*, to hinder that Dukedom from becoming a Province of *France*.' The Ambassadors having brought back this Answer to King *Charles*, he took Occasion to tell them, ' That for his Part, he was very desirous of Peace, as plainly appeared by the Proposal he had made; but that he was sorry to find, that the Duke of *Brittany*, beset as he was by the Duke of *Orleans*, would never comply without being forced to it by the Continuation of the War.' He was so cunning as to instil this Notion into the Ambassadors, who, at their Return into *England*, gave the King to understand, that it was proper to leave the Duke of *Brittany* under his present ill Circumstances, that he might be induced of himself to sue for the Mediation he had rejected.

Thus *Henry's* Ambassadors traversed backwards and forwards, and in the mean time there arrived two Aids in *Brittany*, the one from *England* of four hundred Men, under the Command of the Lord *Woodville*, unknown to *Henry* the VIIth, and the other of fifteen hundred Men from *Maximilian*, under the Command of *Baudouin*, Bastard of *Burgundy*.

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The Earl of *Dunois* was then at *St. Malo's* waiting for a Ship to carry him to *England* ; but, when these Forces arrived, he altered his Design, and, instead thereof, he judged it adviseable to attempt the Succour of *Nantz* ; and having joined to the fifteen hundred Men sent by *Maximilian*, between four and five thousand *Bretons*, that came to offer him their Service, he marched to that City, and entered it without any Opposition, by a Passage which the *French* had left unguarded for want of Troops. The King, upon Advice of the Entry of this Succour, the Slackness of the *Bretons* that joined with the *French* in the Siege of *Nantz*, and of the large and continual Desertions they made, sent them an Order to raise it.

Charles's Army, after they had marched from before *Nantz*, were for the present seperated and quartered in several Towns in *Brittany* for Refreshment.

At this Time there happened in *Brittany* a Revolution, prejudicial to the King of *France's* Affairs. The Lords, who had treated with him, plainly perceiving his Intention was to conquer the Dutchy, made their Peace with the Duke, and obtained a full Pardon ; the Marshal *de Rieux*, their Head, being the last that complied, desiring first to be thoroughly convinced of the *French* King's Designs, which yet he only suspected ; for which Purpose, after privately treating with the Duke of *Orleans*, he found the Duke willing to quit *Brittany*, on receiving reasonable Satisfaction from *Charles*, as to the safety of his and his Friends Persons ; on which the Marshal sent a Message to the King, to let him know, that the Duke of *Orleans* offered to quit the Country with all his Followers : Therefore, since the *French* Troops had entered *Brittany* only to expel that Prince, he most humbly besought him to recal them, pursuant to his Treaty with the Barons. *Anni* of *Beaujeu*, who was haughty and proud, imagining there was no need of any further Ceremony, told the Messenger, the

King had gone too far to recede; and would see the Issue of the Affair. This Answer convinced the Marshal of the *French* King's real Intention, which induced him to follow the Example of the rest of the Barons, and was reconciled to his Sovereign, who gave him the Command of his Army.

The *French* Commanders lost no Time, for, as soon as their Troops were refreshed, they again united in one Body and entered upon Action. The first Place they attacked was the Town of *Dol*, which they took by Storm; whereupon the Duke, not thinking himself safe in *Nantz*, retired to *Rennes*; and, tho' he saw himself extremely pressed, did not hear, that Preparations were any where making for his Relief: And in this unhappy Situation we shall for the present leave him.

Henry, as sagacious as he was, had a wrong Notion of the War in *Brittany*. It's allowed he was fully convinced, that it was the Interest of *England* to hinder that Dutchy from falling into the Hands of the *French*; but then, he thought it was in his Power to prevent it by Means of a Negotiation only, without giving the Duke any effectual Succours; he also believed, that *Charles* would never run the Risque of entering into an open War with *England*; and that, to terrify him with the Fears of such a War, would be giving effectual Relief to the oppressed Duke. Being thus strongly possessed with these Chimera's of his own covetous Heart, he attended to the Affair of *Brittany* no further than he might be a Gainer. Sure, never was there a Prince more greedy of Pelf than he, nor more dextrous at converting every thing to his own Profit.

As the *French* had greatly distressed the Duke of *Brittany*, by the War they had carried into his Dutchy, *Henry* every where gave out, that *England's* Interest was too much concerned not to suffer *Brittany* to be lost, and resolved to make use of so fair an Opportunity of getting a Subsidy, under Pretence of employing



HENRY VII.



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playing it in assisting the Duke against *France*; for which End he gave Directions for calling his Parliament.

The Parliament being met at *Westminster*, Cardinal *Morton*, by the King's Directions, opened the Session with a Speech, the Substance of which here follows,

The Proceedings of the second Parliament, held the 9th of November, 1487.

He took Notice to both Houses, 'That the King ordered him to let them know, that he retained in thankful Memory the Love and Loyalty they had shewed to him in the last Parliament, both by establishing his Royalty, and freeing and discharging of his Partakers, and Confiscations on his Traitors and Rebels; more, said the Cardinal, could not come from Subjects to their Sovereign in one Action: That there were two Causes of their present assembling, the one a foreign Business, and the other Matter of Government at home.

'As to the first Point, no doubt, the Parliament was informed of the deplorable Condition the Duke of *Brittany* was reduced to, thro' King *Charles's* invading his Country, and that the *French* would certainly conquer the *Dutchy*, if the Duke was not timely assisted; he therefore admonished the Parliament to grant the King a sufficient Subsidy, whereby to enable him effectually to succour the Duke.

'The second Reason, said he, was for them to guard the Government at home, by suppressing all Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion, by taking Care to enact proper Laws for the encouraging of Trade and suppressing Usury; for, in short, they knew that the King was a good Husband, and only a Steward for the Publick; and therefore, as other Kingdoms were growing into Greatness, and the Times stirring, it was not fit to find the King with an empty Purse.'

The Parliament readily granted an ample Subsidy for the Purposes desired, and with great Warmth recommended the King to assist the Duke of *Brittany*.

After they had granted what the King requested, they proceeded to take into Consideration the latter Part of the Cardinal's Speech, and passed several Laws, the most material we have mentioned in the annexed Note *; and after the enacting of these, and some others of less Importance, they broke up.

Lord *Bacon* remarks, ' That the Laws passed in this Parliament did bear good and wholesome Fruit, ' save the Subsidy, which did bear a Fruit harsh and ' bitter ;

* 1. The Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which before subsisted by the Antient Common Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain Cases by Act of Parliament, particularly that one Inquest should enquire of the Concealment of the other. This Act set forth the Coroner's Duty after a Murder committed, and ordained, that Justices of the Peace should certify their Recognizances, Indictments, &c. of Murder.

2. That if any of the King's Servants, under the Degree of a Lord, should conspire the Death of any of the King's Council, or Lord of the Realm, such Person or Persons should be adjudged guilty of Felony, and should suffer Death without Benefit of the Clergy.

3. To make it Death to carry away Women forcibly, and against their Will, that hath Lands or Goods, except Female Wards and Bonds Women; should the Party afterwards gain the Woman's Consent, will not excuse this Offence, because the

Law presumes the first Force drew on all the rest.

4. That whereas heretofore by the Common Law, the King's Suit, in case of Homicide, did expect the Year and a Day to the Parties by way of Appeal, which was found by Experience to be inconvenient; it was therefore ordained, that the Suit by Indictment might be taken, as well at any Time within the Year and a Day as after, not prejudicing nevertheless the Parties Suit.

5. That Clerks convicted should be burnt in the Hand, both because they might raise of some corporal Punishment, and that they might carry a Brand of Infamy; but, for this good Act's Sake, says *Bacon*, the King was afterwards branded, by *Perkin's* Proclamation, for an execrable Breaker of the Rites of holy Church.

6. Whereby the King's Officers and Farmers were to forfeit their Places and Holds, in case of unlawful Retainer, or partaking in Routs and unlawful Assemblies.

7. Against

‘ bitter ; yet all was inned at last in the King’s Barn,
‘ tho’ it was after a Storm.’

For, no sooner was the Parliament broke up, but the Commissioners employed to gather the Subsidy proceeded to execute their Commission, who very easily succeeded throughout the Kingdom, till they came to *Yorkshire* and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, the People in those Countries rising in Arms, and refusing to pay what was demanded.

Hereupon the Commissioners applied to the Earl of *Northumberland*, (who commanded in that Part of the Kingdom) and informed him of the Treatment they had met with. The Earl immediately sent a Letter to the King, wherein he prayed his Majesty’s Directions, as to what the Commissioners should further do in the Affair they were entrusted with. The King returned for Answer, *That he expected the Law should be obeyed. Northumberland*, upon Receipt of this Answer, assembled the Justices of the Peace, and the Freeholders of the Country, and informed them in an imperious Manner what the King expected. By the Earl’s haughty Delivery of the King’s Orders, many thought he was the Author of advising the King to insist upon having the Law for collecting the Subsidy

7. Against Usury, which is the bastard Use of Money, and against unlawful Chievances and Exchanges, which is the bastard Usury, and for the Security of the King’s Customs, and for the Employment of the Procedures of foreign Commodities of the Realm.

8. To impower Justices of the Peace to let Prisoners to bail, charged upon Suspicion of Felony, under certain Restrictions ; also this Law ordained, that the Sheriff should certify the Names of all his Prisoners to the Justices of Goal Delivery.

9. To impower Freemen of *London* to carry their Wares to any Fairs or Markets within *England*, and it was thereby ordained, that any Act or Ordinance made in the said City to the contrary, should be void and of none Effect.

10. To award Costs and Damages to the Plaintiff, where the Defendant sues out a Writ of Error, and does not prosecute the same with Effect.

11. To make void all Deeds of Gift made to defraud Creditors.

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Subsidy strictly put in Execution. The Populace under that Notion, as soon as the Earl was returned home, suddenly assaulted him in his House, and in the Fray murdered both him and several of his Servants; they then proceeded to chuse for their Leader Sir *John Egremont*, a factious Person, and an Enemy to the King; and were much encouraged in their Proceedings by a sorry Fellow, named *John a Chamber*, who was in high Estimation among the Rabble. Thus being provided, the Rebels gave out, that they would march to *London*, and give the King Battle.

Henry, being always watchful to suppress Rebellions in their Infancy, immediately raised an Army, and sent them, in the Beginning of the Year * 1488. under the Command of the Earl of *Surry*, in order to oppose and suppress this Rebellion. The Earl soon came up with them, engaged with the principal Band of these Rebels, defeated them, and took *John a Chamber* Prisoner; but Sir *John Egremont* escaped into *Flanders*. The King followed the Earl with another Body of Forces, intending to have engaged the Rebels in Person; but whilst he was on the Way he heard, that *Surry* had beaten and dispersed them. Tho' the Affair was ended, his Majesty pursued his Journey to *York*, where he ordered *John a Chamber* to be hanged on a Gibbet, raised in the Middle of a square Gallows, and twelve of his Followers round him. After that, he returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surry* President in the *North*, and Sir *Richard Tunstall* his principal Commissioner, with full Directions to levy the Subsidy, of which he would not remit a Denier. In this Manner was an End put to the third Rebellion raised against *Henry*, since his ascending the Throne, tho' he had not then reigned three Years.

We

* The Year 88 proved very remarkable to *England* in the two following Centuries; 1588, for destroying the *Spanish Armada*; and 1688, for the *grand Revolution*.

As soon as the Parliament was broke up and the Rebellion suppressed, *Henry* begun again to assist the Duke of *Brittany* on his own Scheme, not with Forces, as was expected, but by way of Negotiation, which little availed him; though Experience afterwards convinced the King, when it was too late, that the only Means to have saved *Brittany* was to have sent thither a strong Aid, and declared War against *France*, according to the Parliament's Intentions; whereas the Plan *Henry* had formed to himself was founded only upon his extreme Desire, that the Difference might be decided without his being forced to expend the Money lately granted him for that Purpose.

Affairs of
Brittany.
1488.

However, the Winter procured the Duke of *Brittany* a Cessation of Arms, (which all *Henry's* Sollicitations at the Court of *France* had not been able to get him) that Season obliging *Charles* to put his Troops into Quarters of Refreshment, which he had no sooner done, but he returned to *Paris*.

There *Henry's* Ambassadors attended, and notified to him the Parliament's Desire: But, as if he was afraid of going too far, they declared, that, if their Master entered into a War, it would be only defensive, and solely with respect to *Brittany*.

The Court of *France* easily perceiving, that *Henry* had no Inclination vigorously to support the Duke, *Charles* told the Ambassadors, that he was always ready to accept of the King of *England* for Arbitrer of the Differences between him and the Duke of *Brittany*; but did not intend to suffer himself to be amused with a Treaty, which would only serve to give him Time to restore his Affairs.

As the Duke of *Brittany* had refused to submit to what *Charles* had first offered, *Henry* took a Distaste against him; who therefore finding, by the King's Proceedings, that he was not to expect any real Succours from him, held a Council of his General Offi-

cers, (at which the Duke of *Orleans* assisted) to consult Measures the most eligible in their unhappy Situation ; when it was resolved, that the next Campaign should be opened early in the Spring, apprehending that, by so doing, the Duke had a Prospect of reaping some considerable Advantage, before the *French* could assemble their Army, which Resolution was accordingly put in Execution.

The Beginning of *March*, Marshal *de Rieux*, who had taken on him the Command of the Duke's Forces, marched with the Army, and entered upon Action, which at first was very favourable to him ; for he retook *Vannes* and *Dinant*, and garrisoned *Ancennis* and *Chateaubriant*. In the mean time, the Lord *d'Albert*'s two Troops of Men at Arms deserted the *French* Service, and joined the Duke's Forces.

Charles was soon informed of the Marshal's Proceedings, and in the Month of *April* took the Field, which put an End to *de Rieux*'s further Progress. The first Place the King attacked was *Ancennis*, then *Chateaubriant*, both which he immediately took and razed to the Ground ; from thence they marched to *Fongeres*, and besieged both that and *St. Aubin du Cormier* at the same time.

Whilst the *French* were thus acting, the Lord *d'Albert* came into *Brittany*, and with him a thousand Horse ; this Lord was the more diligent to serve the Duke, for that he fully expected to have his Daughter *Ann* in Marriage. On his Arrival, he pressed *Francis* to consent to the Consummation of it : But he, having before privately promised his Daughter to *Maximilian* of *Burgundy*, was greatly embarrassed at this Request ; but at last he found out an Expedient to make *d'Albert* easy for the present, and that was, to put the young Princess upon declaring, that she did not like him ; which gave the Duke a Pretence to elude his Request, till the Princess's Obstinacy could be conquered.

Still the unfortunate Duke's Affairs being in a bad Situation, (for he was yet but little able to resist the *French*, having been deserted by *England*, and received no Assistance from *Maximilian*) he sent the Earl of *Dunois* to *Charles* to sue for Peace. To which he returned no positive Answer, being desirous first to see the Issue of his two Sieges, as well as of the Treaty on Foot with *Henry* for renewing the Truce; by the Success of which, or the contrary, he had resolved to be determined: So, keeping *Dunois* still at Court, under divers Pretences, he put him off from Day to Day, till he had received certain Advice from *England*, that *Henry* had signed at *Windfor* a further Truce, to commence the 14th of *July* this Year, and to end the 17th of *January*, 1490. Thus, having nothing to fear from *England*, he wholly applied himself to continue his Conquests and refused to enter into any Treaty with *Brittany*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Brittany* was in the utmost Confusion: Tho' both *Maximilian* and the Duke of *Lorrain* seemed to espouse his Quarrel, yet it did not appear, that either of them were preparing to assist him. In this Extremity a Council was held in the Duke's Presence, to consider what Course was proper to be taken; when most of the Council were for marching to the Relief of *Fongeres*, and joining Battle, rather than suffer that Place to be lost. The Marshal *de Rieux* opposed, in vain, this dangerous Advice, by representing, 'That the Loss of a Battle would certainly be attended with the Ruin of *Brittany*; that it would be much wiser to delay the Time, till the neighbouring Princes should see it their own Interest to freely assist; since it could not but be extremely prejudicial to them, to suffer *Brittany* to be swallowed up by *France*.' To this it was replied, 'That, as Affairs were now situated, probably *Brittany* would be lost before any Succours arrived, and therefore the only Way to save it was,

' a Victory.' But the Duke of *Brittany's* Understanding was so impaired, that he was incapable of judging of an Affair of such Consequence ; so, suffering himself to be governed by the Counsels of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange*, his Nephew, he resolved to march to the Relief of *Fongeres* ; on his Approach, he found the Town had already capitulated, he therefore determined to relieve *St. Aubin du Cormier* ; but the Governor, for want of Provision and Ammunition, had surrendered a few Days before the Duke's Arrival.

These two important Places being carried by the *French*, all their Forces joined in one Body, when *Lewis de Trimoville* took upon himself the Command of them :

And in a few Days the two Armies were so near one another, that it was not probable they should part without a Battle. Whilst they were preparing on both Sides, a Rumour being spread among the *Bretons*, that the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were going to betray them, they were upon the Point of disbanding : But the two Princes removed their Fears, by going amongst them to charge on Foot. On the 28th of *July* both Armies came to a general Engagement, which proved fatal to the Duke of *Brittany* ; though the *Breton* Infantry performed well, yet the Horse abandoned them upon the first Charge, which determined the Victory on the Side of the *French* ; five thousand five hundred *Bretons* fell upon the Place, and on the *French* Part one thousand five hundred. But what compleated the Victory, was the taking the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* Prisoners. The King commanded the first to be confined in the Tower of *Bourges*, where we shall for the present leave him ; but the latter he set at Liberty. The four hundred *English*, brought over by the Lord *Woodville*, were almost all kill'd, with their Leader, in the Field of Battle. As the *English* were then distinguished by a red Cross, one thousand two hundred

hundred *Bretons* were joined to them with the same Badges, to make the *French* believe, that fresh Succours were arrived from *England*; but that would not do.

The Taking of the Duke of *Orleans* was Matter of extreme Joy to *Madam de Beaujeu*, (having now no Competitor in the Government) who soon after became Dutcheß of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, Constable of *France*, dying about this Time without lawful Issue, the Lord *de Beaujeu*, his Brother, took the Title of that Dutchy, and became Head of the House of *Bourbon*.

After the Battle of *St. Aubin*, the *French* General sent an Herald to *Rennes*, to require that City to surrender at Discretion; and the Answer returned was, *That they would sooner be nothing, than be unfaithful to their Prince.*

Henry, hearing of the Battle of *St. Aubin*, again sent Ambassadors to King *Charles*, under Pretence of prevailing with him to conclude a Peace with the Duke of *Brittany*, but, unfortunate for *England*, we find he seemed little to heed the Duke's Interest, which may be gathered from his being satisfied with the Answer his Ambassadors had before received from the *French* Court, 'That, his Majesty would gladly have settled Matters with the Duke in an amicable Way, but that he had refused it.'

Whilst these Ambassadors were in *France*, the People of *England* were very uneasy at the King's not assisting *Brittany*, as he had promised; and, in order to palliate their Discontent, he caused it to be blazed abroad, that, in case his Ambassadors did not prevail with the Court of *France*, to conclude a Peace with *Brittany* the ensuing Winter, he would, the next Spring, assist the Duke with a considerable Body of Forces, in order to drive the *French* out of *Brittany*.

This Declaration was very acceptable to the People, which made them inclinable to forget what was past, and doubted not but *Henry* was in earnest.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding *Henry's* fair Speeches, by the Loss of the Battle of *St. Aubin*, the Duke of *Brittany* was reduced to a State worthy of Pity, and, as he could no longer support himself, he thought it adviseable to sue for Peace, and not to rely on any Assistance from *England*; to effect which, he sent the Earl of *Dunois* with a Letter to the *French* King, submitting in a Manner not usual for the Dukes of *Brittany*: *Charles* received the Earl very kindly; and consented to a Peace with the Duke on certain Conditions, 'particularly
' that he should not marry his Daughters without his
' Consent; that the Duke should renounce all foreign
' Leagues and Alliances, and should let *Charles* keep
' those Places he had conquered in his Country.' The Treaty was agreed to in the Castle of *Vergy* in *Anjou*, where it was signed by the King, and by the Duke at *Coirin*.

Soon after the Duke, being grown very old, and overwhelmed with Sorrow, to see his Country in so mangled a Condition, and, having received a Hurt by a Fall from his Horse, died of Grief at *Nantz*, the 9th of *December*, having reigned 32 Years. By his Will he appointed the Marshal de *Rieux* Guardian to his two Daughters, *Ann* and *Isabel*, and named *Frances de Dinan*, Lady of *Chateaubriant*, for their Governess. For the present they both retired to the City of *Guerand*; but the youngest died in two Years after her Father. Thus terminated the unhappy Reign of *Francis* the last Duke of *Brittany*.

Affairs of During these different Transactions in
Flanders and *Brittany*, upon the Death of *Mary* of
Germany. 1485. *Burgundy*, *Maximilian* was for a time
fully employed in *Flanders*, thro' a Difference
that had arisen between him and the States, relating to the Guardianship of his Son *Philip*; who on the one side insisted they had a Right to it, which *Maximilian* opposed: From Words they

they came to Blows, and a War ensued, that was carried on for some time, with various Success, which Quarrels were as much to the Prejudice of the Country in general, as they were to the Advantage of *Charles of France*, for it thereby rendered him the better able to execute his Designs, both on *Burgundy* and *Brittany*. After a two Years War, Means was found out to put an End to those Broils, by the States consenting to let *Maximilian* have the Guardianship and Care of his Son *Philip*. 1486.

This Point being settled, *Maximilian* set out for *Germany*, where he was soon after elected King of the *Romans*. On the 9th of *April* he was crown'd by the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and then he returned into *Flanders*, and was soon followed by the Emperor *Frederick*, attended by a large Body of Forces, who behaved so ill, that nothing was heard for a time save Complaints and Murmurs. *Maximilian, elected King of the Romans. 1487.*

At last the Disorders were got to that height in many Parts of *Flanders*, that the Inhabitants took up Arms, particularly at *Bruges*; where they, on the 2d of *February*, not only made King *Maximilian* a Prisoner, but cut off the Heads of several of his Creatures. This so incensed the Emperor, that he threatned to bring a fresh Body of Troops out of *Germany*, to his Son's Assistance; and withal procured an Excommunication from the Pope against the Mutineers; they, on the other hand, applied to the King of *France* for Protection, who was pleas'd to grant their Request. 1488.

On this the People of *Bruges* declared, that they were neither to be terrified with the Threats, nor the Forces of *Frederick*. On the contrary, whatever the Emperor could say or do, they were not to be prevailed with to give up his Son; resolving, as they were supported by *France*, to deliver him to the

French

French King, who had demanded him. When they were just on the Point of so doing, *Frederick* had recourse even to Tears and Intreaties in Behalf of his Son.

This Way of Proceeding at last subdued the Fury of the *Burgois* ; so that they set him at Liberty, but not before they had entered into a formal Treaty with him. When *Maximilian* was out of their Hands, he retired into *Germany* to his Father, and left the Government of his Son *Philip* to *Albert* Duke of *Saxony*. Upon his Arrival in that Country, he dignified *Austria* with the Title of Arch-dutchy, which it has borne ever since.

King *Maximilian* had not been long in *Germany* before the Emperor and himself publicly declared, that the late Behaviour of the People of *Bruges* was so very unnatural, that they did not look upon themselves obliged to observe a forced Treaty ; and both Father and Son strictly forbid any one to mention it, whereby the War was again renewed, in which the *Flemings* were assisted by the *French*.

The Emperor and his Son soon raised a gallant Army (in which were 2500 *English*) passed into *Flanders*, and attacked *Ghent* ; after six Weeks Siege, the Emperor's Affairs called him into *Germany*, and the Command of the Forces was conferred on *Albert*, Duke of *Saxony*. The Event did not answer Expectation, for the City stood out all their Assaults, and obliged them at last to quit the Siege. Yet the War continued till the Year 1490, when the *Flemings* sued for Peace, which was granted upon Terms much to the Advantage of *Maximilian*, and his Son *Philip*.

Henry, King of *England*, upon receiving the News of the Death of *Francis* the II^d, Duke of *Brittany*, declared, that he consider'd the Interest of the young Orphan Dutchess as his own, and

Affairs of *England* and *Brittany*. 1489.

seemed

seemed to prepare in earnest to assist her; but, as he knew likewise, that, a few Days before the Duke's Death, a provisional Treaty had been concluded, in respect to the King of *France's* Pretensions, he did not question but the Affair would be ended by way of Negotiation; and his Business was only to hinder King *Charles* from taking Advantage of the present reduced Condition of the *Brettons*: This he imagined might be effected by loudly proclaiming his Concern for the Dutchess's Affairs; he still believing *Charles* feared him; and, rather than break with him, would resign much of his Claims; his View was to become Arbitrator in this Difference, and to avoid a War, which would have forced him to have drawn his Purse-strings.

Still to negotiate, he sent Ambassadors to the King of the *Romans*, the Arch-duke his Son, and the Kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal*, to make the King of *France* believe he was labouring to form a League against him; he also sent an Ambassador to *Charles* himself, to press him to settle the Affairs of *Brittany* by Treaty; and others to the Dutchess, to offer her Assistance, and a sufficient Number of Troops to guard her Country, on Security for the Payment of the Charges.

The King, whilst these Matters were transacting, gave Direction for calling his High Court of Parliament, which met on the 13th of *January*, who were

Proceedings of the third Parliament, held the 13th of January, 1489.

‘not called (says one of our Historians) for any particular Occasion of the State, but to give the King's Subjects Contentment, by permitting them to make further Laws for the Good of the People.’

Lord *Bacon* breaks out into these Expressions on that Occasion, ‘Certainly *Henry's* Time, for good Commonwealth Laws, did excel; so as he may be justly celebrated for the best Law-giver to this Na-

98 *The* LIFE *and* TIMES

'tion, after King *Edward* the 1st; for his Laws, who
'so marks them well, are deep, not vulgar, nor
'made upon the Spur of a particular Occasion for
'the present, but out of Providence for the future,
'to make the Estate of his People still more and
'more happy, after the Manner of the Legislators in
'the antient and herojical Times.' Some of which
Laws passed in this Parliament, were, *

As the King asked no Aid at this Time from his
People, he sent to the City of *London* to borrow four
thousand Pounds, which the Citizens chearfully lent,
being more than double what they advanced before;
and the King paid the Money back at the Day ap-
pointed. 'Tho' he had no Occasion for the Money,
'says Lord *Bacon*, he chose to borrow too soon, ra-
'ther than to pay too late, by which Means he kept
'up his Credit.'

The Parliament having made such Laws, as were
then thought for the Good of the Publick, they were
dissolved. We

* 1. For as the King had in
his Person and Marriage, made
a final Concord in the great Suit
and Title for the Crown; so by
this Law he settled the like
Peace and Concord in private
Possessions of his Subjects; or-
daining, that Fines thenceforth
should be final to conclude all
Strangers Right; and that, up-
on Fines levied and solemnly
proclaimed, the Subject should
have his Time of Watch for five
Years after his Title accrued;
which, if before passed, his
Right should be bound for ever
after, with some Exceptions in
respect to married Women, and
such incompetent Persons.

2. For encouraging the Sol-
diery and Military Forces of the
Nation

3. It was ordained, that all
Houses of Husbandry, that were
used with twenty Acres of
Ground, should be kept up for
ever, together with a compe-
tent Proportion of Land to be
used and occupied with them,
and in no wise to be severed from
them.

4. For the better maintaining
of the Navy, it was ordained, that
Wines and Woods from *Ga-
ceign* and *Languedoc* should be
brought into *England* in no other
than *English* Bottoms.

5. For the Justice of the
Peace duly executing their Of-
fice, inviting Complaints against
them, first to their Fellow-Ju-
stices, then to the Justice of As-
size, and from thence to the
King or his Chancellor. For

The *English* Ambassadors soon arrived at the different Courts they were sent to on the 10th of *February*; those in *Brittany* concluded with the Dutchess a Treaty at *Raden*, whereby the King engaged to send an Aid of six thousand Men to her Assistance, on the Provisee before-mentioned.

During these Transactions *Brittany* remained easy on the *French* side; but then Disputes arose at the Dutchess's Court among her Ministers, in relation to her Marriage; some proposing Count *d'Albert*, and others *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*; but neither of them took place. *Charles*, hearing of these Quarrels, again entered upon Action; and seized on the Ports of *Brest* and *Conquet*.

Then the Question was put in the Privy-Council, 'Whether the King should compleat the Conquest of that Country by Force of Arms?' the Courtiers all advised it; but Chancellor *Rockfort* alone was against it; representing, 'That a *Most Christian* King ought not to measure his Conquests by his Sword, but his Justice; that it was most shameful

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the more effectual inforcing this Law, he issued a Proclamation, directing it to be read four Times a Year in open Court

6. For regulating the Mint, and to prevent counterfeiting of foreign Coin current; and that no Payment should be made to any foreign Merchant in Gold. This was done to keep the Treasure within the Realm, for that Gold was a Metal that lay in the least Room.

7. For the Maintenance of Drapery, and keeping the Wool within the Kingdom. Since this King's Time several good Laws have been made for the same Purpose; but an effectual Stop hath not yet been put to so pernicious a Practice of sending our Wool abroad, owing to the Wickedness

of many within our own Bowels; but it is still hoped, that some Means will be found out, in order to put a final End to so great an Evil.

8. That a Person should be allowed the Benefit of the Clergy but once; and that a Convict shall be mark'd with the Letter *M* or *T*. By this Act a Provision was made for such as were within Orders to produce his Orders, &c. if not, to lose the Benefit of his Clergy.

9. That no Butcher should kill any Beast within *London*, any walled Town, or *Cambridge*, under certain Penalties.

10. That Actions popular, prosecuted by Collusion, should be no Bar to those who pursued their Causes with good Faith.

to despoil a Pupil, that was innocent of his Kindred, and that he might have the Dutchy by Marriage, a much more easy Method to obtain his desired End.

Some relate this Remonstrance made a considerable Impression in the King, and induced him for the present to stop his Progress in *Brittany*, in order to consider what was proper to be done; but others say, that the chief Reason that induced the King to think of pacifick Measures, was, that he heard of the Arrival of the six thousand *English* Forces sent pursuant to the Treaty of *Raden*. These Forces the Dutchess employed in garrisoning her Towns, and all of a sudden Matters seemed to have a favourable Aspect on the side of the young Princess.

The Case being thus altered, *Charles* and *Ann* entered into an Agreement to leave all Matters in Difference between them to *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, and the Duke of *Bourbon*. On which the Dutchess thought, she had no farther Occasion for the *English* Forces, and therefore suffered them to return home.

Several Months of this Year were spent 1490. in frequent Conferences, held by the Deputies of the Arbitrators who met at *Francfort*, but nothing material was concluded on. In the mean time *Maximilian* took the Opportunity to negotiate for himself a Marriage with the Dutchess, and accordingly was married to her by Proxy, with the usual Ceremonies.

Lord *Bacon* speaks of this Marriage to the following Effect: 'That *Maximilian* so far prevailed, both with the young Lady and principal Persons about her, that she was married by Proxy, and that *Maximilian's* Temper was to leave Things, when they were almost come to Perfection, to end by Imagination; and that he acted like ill Archers that draw not their Arrows up to the Head, or otherwise he would

‘ would have bedded the Lady himself, and not have
‘ made a Play and Disguise of it.’

The *French* Ministers, when they were acquainted in what Manner the Marriage was performed, made a Sport of the pretended Consummation : They said, ‘ It was an Argument, that *Maximilian* was a Wi-
‘ dower and a cold Lover, that could content him-
‘ self to be a Bridegroom by Deputy, and would not
‘ make a little Journey to put all out of the Que-
‘ stion.’ And, in Fact, thro’ *Maximilian*’s Negli-
gence, he lost both his Wife and the Dutchy.

On the Rumour of this Marriage, *Charles* being convinced that no Good was to be expected from the Arbitrators, took up Arms again, and caused his Forces to march and besiege the Dutchess herself in *Rennes*.

The Beginning of this Year she sent for 1491.. Affistances both to *England* and *Germany*, but had very weak Returns ; *Henry*, instead of sending the Dutchess Forces, dispatched Ambassadors for *France* to intercede with *Charles* on her Behalf. *Maximilian* did not bestir himself as he should have done for so fair a Mistress, and never furnished her with above two thousand Men. By these Means the Affairs of *Brittany* every Day grew worse and worse ; for the Lord d’ *Albert* being enraged to see himself supplanted by a *German*, treated with the *French*, and gave them up the City of *Nantz*, on Condition of some promised Satisfaction for the Pretensions he had to the Dutchy.

Nothing could have been more easy at this Time, than for *Charles* to have taken away the Dutchess by Force ; however, he was again advised to try whether he could not carry his Point by marrying her. This Advice was acceptable to the King, and all of a sudden, he changed from an Enemy to a Lover, and fought to win her by Courtship ; but she was haughty in her Misfortunes, she seemed determined
not

not to break her Faith, having proceeded so far with *Maximilian*. In short, she could not think of bestowing her Heart upon a Prince that had treated her so ill, and who had too much Power not to violate in a little Time the Laws and Liberties of *Brittany*.

We left the Duke of *Orleans* in a melancholy Prison; but this lucky Incident happening, was the Means of procuring him his Liberty. It was well known he had acquired a great deal of Credit with the Dutchess, during his Residence at her Father's Court. Some of the great Lords about the King advised him to make use of the Duke to conquer her high Spirit, which Advice *Charles* greatly approved of, and, without further Consultation, repaired to the Castle of *Bourges*, gave the Duke his Liberty, took him into Favour, and employed him to negotiate the Match with the Dutchess. *Orleans*, with the Assistance of his Friends, omitted no Persuasions to induce her to favour the King's Suit; for a while she resisted, but at last yielded to the Duke's Importunity, and, with a Sigh, gave herself up, and with it the Liberty of her Country.—Save thus far, she took Care of her People, that in the Contract of Marriage, which was signed the 16th of *December* at *Langeais* in *Touraine*, it was agreed, 'That in case of the Death of either Party, the whole Right to the Dutchy should devolve to the Survivor;' and the King made a separate Treaty with the Estates of that Country, for the Preservation of their Laws and Privileges.

No sooner was the Treaty signed, but the Marriage was solemnized, and the King dismissed his Sister, the Dutchess of *Bourbon*, from the Authority she had had in the Government of *France*.

When the Marriage was made publick, the King of the *Romans* cried out, Treachery in *Charles*! for thus injuriously robbing him of his Wife; nay, he was in such a Fury, that he threatned to carry Fire and
Sword

Sword into the Heart of *France*, to revenge so great an Affront ; but these Threats soon vanished.

It's here likewise to be observed, that *Margaret*, Sister to *Philip* of *Burgundy*, now become Arch-duke of *Austria*, had been ever since the Year 1483 at *Paris*, and solemnly affianced to *Charles* when Dauphin ; which Contract the King made no Difficulty to break without assigning any Reason. This so exasperated *Philip*, that he sent a special Messenger to demand his Sister the Princess ; but *Charles* refused to comply with the Demand, and even detained her at *Paris* against her Will, which was highly resented by *Philip*.

Charles the VIIIth, upon dismissing of the Dutches of *Bourbon*, immediately took the Reins of Government on him, and at first endeavoured to form himself for Business, by spending great Part of his Time in attending the Affairs of State, and reading and studying of useful Books, delighting in the Conversation of learned Men, and thereby made some Amendments for his former neglected Education. These Proceedings were by no means pleasing to his flattering Courtiers.

In fine, before *Charles* had persevered one Year in his laudable Intentions, he was diverted from a further Progress in them, thro' the Artifice of some of those Sycophants that continually hung about him, and at last plunged himself into the Delights of Fopperies and Women.

Henry the VIIth's Ambassadors continuing at the *French* Court for no other Purpose, than to interceed with *Charles* on the Behalf of the Dutches of *Brittany*, whilst the Affairs of the Marriage were negotiating, they were amused under various Pretences. At last they discovered *Charles*'s Designs, and, hearing that he had actually carried his Point, they found their Negotiations at an end ; and therefore, as the King had deceived them, they had nothing more to settle

settle than to prepare for returning home, which they did without taking Leave.

From what has been mentioned, we may see the ridiculous Policy of suffering ourselves to be amused with Embassies and Negotiations, when Essentials are concerned, and the Balance of Power is visibly attacked : Even *Henry* himself could not see without Confusion, that he lost the Fruit of his avaricious Policy, for that he had not saved *Brittany* ; and further, the Sums he had advanced for that End were, by *Charles's* marrying *Ann*, become more precarious than ever.

To sum up this Matter, it plainly appears, that the chief Views of *Lewis* and *Charles* were to destroy both *Burgundy* and *Brittany* ; a Piece of History but very superficially taken notice of by our Historians, (tho' it ought to be well understood by every true *Englishman*.) Nor has *Rapin* spoke so fully on this Subject as might have been expected from so political a Writer, who could be no Stranger to an Affair of such Consequence to *England*, especially as *France* was so deeply engaged in it ; whence we may conclude his not being more particular in such a voluminous Work, resulted from a Prejudice in favour of his Native Country.

Tho' Monsieur *Rapin* hath declared himself an Enemy to that Government, because of the Restraint by them laid on Liberty of Conscience ; yet the *Amor Patriæ* seems to have had too strong an Ascendant to permit him to illustrate his History with a minute Relation of a Fact that must reflect Dishonour on a Country to which he was so nearly allied. What other Motive could deter him from giving a more ample Relation of the encroaching Designs of *Lewis* and *Charles* on *Burgundy* and *Brittany* ? Every Man is more or less actuated by this Prepossession in favour of his own Nation, but none in so great a Degree as a *Frenchman* ; this prevalent Passion hath very much contri-

contributed to the present stupendous Height of the Power of *France*, consequently Impartiality is not to be expected from a *French* Writer, where the Interest of his Country interferes.

Time has since fully shewed us, that it was certainly a very great Failure of Policy in *Henry*, in so shamefully neglecting the Affairs of *Brittany*; for the Dutchess ought to have been supported, even at the Expence of *England*, in order to have prevented that Country's ever falling into the Hands of the *French*. The Privateers that were harboured in the different Ports of *Brittany*, particularly in that of *St. Malo*, during the last War with *France*, did our Trade very great Damage, which must necessarily be the Case, whenever we are engaged in a War with that Nation.

Tho' *England* has suffered thro' this unhappy Neglect, yet, as to the King's Part, he had still one Refuge left that he well knew how to improve, which brought him off, if not with Honour, at least with a pecuniary Advantage, which the Historians agree was the Thing he had all along aimed at. To carry this Point he at once feigned an extreme Resentment against *Charles*, for the Affront he had conceived from his marrying the Dutchess, and possessing himself of *Brittany* unknown to him. He publicly declared his Resolution of taking his own Satisfaction of the *French* King; and, to make the World believe he was in earnest, he issued out Orders to levy Forces, and prepare Transports, intimating, that he was going to undertake the most formidable, dreadful War that had ever been between *England* and *France*. He seemed to tread in the Steps of *Edward* the IIIrd, and *Henry* the Vth, giving out, that he would not rest till he had forced the Crown of *France* from the House of *Valois*; but enough of this for the present. And as the *Scotch* generally interfered in Favour of *France*,

M

when

when *England* was at War with her, let us speak of the Condition that Country was in, and of the Steps taken by our Prince to prevent their engaging on the *French* side.

Affairs of Scotland, *James* the IVth, sometime after he was seated on the Throne of *Scotland*, made 1491. Choice of the most eminent Prelates and Nobles, for Learning and Virtue, to be of his Council, thro' whose Advice the publick Affairs soon took a new Turn; Justice was executed on Oppressors and Robbers, and, even in the remotest Parts of the Kingdom, either his Majesty in Person, or some of his Council saw it administred. He was of so contrary a Temper to the Humour of his Predecessors; that he granted freely to every Man, what could be demanded in Reason: But still he could not help expressing at times the Agony of his Mind for the Death of his Father, and what Remorse and Anguish he suffered upon the Account of his appearing in the Field of Battle against him; he girded himself with a Chain of Iron, to which, every third Year of his Life, he added some Rings and Weight. Tho' this might seem terrible to the Accomplices in the Crime, yet, either depending on the Tenderness of his Conscience, his gentle Disposition, and Generosity, or the Trust they had in their own Power and Faction, they shewed no Signs of Fear; nor did the King use Rigour towards them.

Whilst Matters were in this Situation, the Pope very seasonably sent *Andrew Forman* with Letters to *James* and his Nobility, upon the Subject of the late Disaster: That addressed to the King intimated,

“ That the most glorious Victory, a Prince could acquire, was sometimes to overcome himself, and triumph over his disorder'd Passions: That in all Perturbations, to which we are subject, we should endeavour

" endeavour to practise that Precept; and chiefly
 " in our Passions of Sorrow and Wrath, which, not
 " being restrained, overwhelm the greatest and most
 " generous Mind: That by Passion the fewest Ac-
 " tions, and by Reason the most, do prosper: That,
 " tho' a King, he must not imagine himself ex-
 " empt from Things casual to all Mankind, especi-
 " ally in Seditions and Civil Tumults, from which
 " no Kingdom or State hath been free; there being
 " no City which hath not sometimes had wicked
 " Citizens, and often an headstrong and mad Mul-
 " titude: That he should take what had befallen
 " him, as from the Hand of his Maker, patiently;
 " who chastiseth those he loveth, but what had pro-
 " ceeded from Men courageously: That there was no
 " Prince so safe, but, by an insolent Nobility and
 " ravaging Populace, might be compelled to per-
 " petrate many Things against his Heart and Inten-
 " tions: That, as the consenting to and allowing the
 " Action, were the greatest Indications of Guilt, of
 " which he was free, the Sin committed was not his;
 " therefore the Punishment, which by the divine Justice
 " might follow, belonged not unto him: That since
 " he had done nothing of himself but as a Youth car-
 " ried away by mutinous Subjects, tho' they made
 " him lead, themselves that followed were the more
 " immediate Transgressors.—To these Men Remorse
 " and torture of Conscience belong'd; these were
 " they that should lament and mourn, who under
 " false Pretences had abused the People, and masked
 " their Ambition and Malice with a Reformation of
 " Error in the State; whose Rage could not be
 " quenched but by the Blood of their Sovereign:
 " These surely should bewail their Injustice and Cru-
 " elty, the Sin, Shame and Judgment for so heinous
 " a Fact follow'd these Men. That he should not
 " impute the Wickedness of others, by which he had

“ been a Sufferer with his unhappy Father, to him-
 “ self: That Revenge belonged to the Almighty,
 “ to whose Tribunal he should submit his Quarrel:
 “ That he should not decree the worst against his mu-
 “ tinous Subjects, nor turn them desperate, as if there
 “ was no Place to repent: That real Offences were
 “ not always punished in a State; that it was pro-
 “ fitable for a Prince sometimes to put up volun-
 “ tarily an Injury; that he should apply soft Me-
 “ dicines where it was dangerous to use violent; that,
 “ following his Maker, he should endeavour to draw
 “ Good out of Evil: That, as he was, for the Dis-
 “ aster of his Father’s, pitied by Men upon Earth, so
 “ assuredly he would be pardoned in Heaven. Final-
 “ ly, his Holiness assured him, if his Subjects re-
 “ turn’d to their crooked Byass, and did revolt again,
 “ he would make the Danger his own, use his Ec-
 “ clestialtical Censures and Spiritual Power against
 “ them, till they became obedient to the Sway of his
 “ Sceptre.”

In the Pope’s Letter to the Nobles were the fol-
 lowing Expressions: “ Confusions followed where Obe-
 “ dience ceased, and left Contempt; and Kings were
 “ no longer Kings, when their Subjects refuse to
 “ obey them.

“ That good People made good Kings, which he
 “ requested them to endeavour to be, as they would
 “ answer to God, whose Lieutenants Princes were,
 “ and by whose Power they ruled.”

These Letters had a very good Effect, both upon
 the King and his Nobles, and *Scotland* at last found
 the Benefit that accrued to her by the Union that
 was afterwards established between her Prince and
 People.

*Affairs of England
 and Scotland.*

Now, to return to our Sovereign, it
 so happen’d at this Time that the Truce
 between

The Parliament being met, the King made
Speech to both Houses, in Substance as follows,



Scotland.

to happen at this time than at any
between

between *England* and *Scotland* was near expired, effectually to prevent any Inconvenience arising from thence, he dispatched Ambassadors to treat with *James* about renewing the Truce for a further Time.

James received *Henry's* Ambassadors kindly, and gave them Hopes of succeeding in their Commission; yet he thought the King of *France* might stand in need of him, which induced him for a Time to delay complying with *Henry's* Request; but at last the Ambassadors concluded with the *Scotch* Ministers a Treaty, whereby it was agreed, that the Truce should continue to the End of the Month of *November*, 1492; which was approved of by both Kings, and was afterwards prolonged for a further Time.

By obtaining this, *Henry* apprehended he had secured the Nation from being disturbed by the *Scots*, whilst he was employed abroad against *France*; and further, he entered into a League with *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, who appeared to be more enraged than *Henry*, for the Reason before-mentioned.

They agreed by this Treaty to join their Forces, and forthwith attack *France* on the Side of *Picardy*; *Henry* and *Maximilian* having also concluded a League with *Ferdinand*, King of *Aragon*, the latter undertook to assist both these Princes in the intended Enterprize, and unanimously resolved, not to give over the War before *France* had made ample Satisfaction to each of them.

In the mean time the King gave Directions for assembling his Parliament, not doubting, as he had made such a Noise about the War, and great Preparations for it, they would readily grant him a considerable Subsidy.

The Parliament being met, the King made a Speech to both Houses, in Substance as follows,

‘ That

*The Proceedings of
the fourth Parlia-
ment held the
25th of January,
1492.*

‘ That when he proposed to make
‘ War in *Brittany* by his Lieutenant,
‘ he made a Declaration thereof to
‘ them by his Chancellor; but as he
‘ now meant to make War upon
‘ *France* in Person, he thought proper to lay be-
‘ fore them both what he had done, and what he
‘ intended further to do against *France*; and to in-
‘ fluence them the more, he set before them the
‘ glorious Battles of *Crecy*, *Poitiers*, and *Azin-court*,
‘ where the *English* alone vanquished the strongest
‘ Armies of *France*, insinuating, that he was no less
‘ a Warriour than *Edward* the IIIrd, the Prince of
‘ of *Wales* his Son, and *Henry* the Vth.

‘ In the Conclusion he did not forget to men-
‘ tion the chief End of his calling them together,
‘ which was to demand a Supply of Money, pro-
‘ portionable to the Greatness of the Enterprize;
‘ but he exhorted them to spare the Purfes of the
‘ Poor, and lay the Taxes upon the Rich.’

The Parliament were highly delighted with the King’s Speech; and, to enable him to carry on the War with Vigour, they granted him a very considerable Sum, which was levied upon the Rich by the Name of *Benevolence*, the Citizens of *London* in particular paying 9682 *l*.

This sort of Tax was introduced by *Edward* the IVth, and raised without the Consent of Parliament. *Richard* the IIIrd, to ingratiate himself with the People, abolished it; but this Parliament revived it again, and gave it the Sanction of their Authority.

Hall makes a pertinent Remark upon this Occasion, saying, ‘ By this a Man may perceive, that what
‘ is once practised for the Utility of a Prince, and
‘ brought to a Precedent by Matter of Record, may
‘ turn to the great Prejudice of the People, if Rulers
‘ in Authority will so adjudge and determine it.’

of CARDINAL WOLSEY. III

Lord Bacon informs us, that Cardinal Morton was said to have made use of this Dilemma in his Instructions to the Commissioners who were employed to collect the *Benevolence*, 'That if they met with any ' that were sparing, they should tell them that they ' must needs have, because they laid up; and if ' they were Spenders, they must needs have, because ' it was visible in their Manner of Living.'

After the Parliament had granted the necessary Supplies for the intended Expedition, and passed some other Laws * mentioned in the Note below, they were prorogued.

Charles of France hearing that *Henry of England* had been some time employed in raising him Enemies on all Sides, to prevent a Rupture, he sent over to *England* a solemn Embassy, which the King received, who afterwards returned to *France* (as it was given out) without succeeding in their Embassy.

All this while *Henry* had been preparing for his Expedition to *France*, but before he set out, the Queen was delivered of a Prince at *Greenwich*, who afterwards succeeded his Father by the Name of *Henry the VIIIth*. *Sanford* will have it, that Prince *Henry* was born on the 28th of *June*, and not on the 22d, as *Stow* alledges.

But *Henry's* Mind still run on negotiating, rather than embarking for *France*; for which Purpose he sent six Ambassadors to *Charles*, and among them Bishop *Fox*, under Pretence of first trying whether he could not obtain, by fair Means, Reparation for the Injury he alledged he had met with from that Crown: These Ambassadors soon returned (as pretended) without receiving the Satisfaction expected. *Henry* then sent other

* 1. A Penalty was laid on any Captain or Soldier that was retained to serve the King in the intended War against *France*, in case they did not do their Duty.

2. That where an Issue should afterwards be tried in

London, the old Challenge of *Reins denis le gard* should not be admitted, but all other Challenges should continue as before.

Others, that were then enacted, are either expired or repealed,

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other Ambassadors to *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* to desire them to take the Field, and enter *Picardy* according to their Treaty; and at last *Henry* himself proceeded for *France*; having first constituted by Patent, *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, Guardian of the Realm during his Absence, and embarked the 2d of *October*; *Robert* Lord *Willoughby de Brook* being Admiral, and *Sir Robert* Pointz Vice-admiral.

Henry was attended to *France*, among others, by the following illustrious Personages, *Thomas* Grey, Marquess of *Dorset*; *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*; *Thomas* Earl of *Derby*; *George* Earl of *Sbrewsbury*; *Edward* Earl of *Devonshire*; *Henry* Earl of *Essex*; and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*. When he arrived at *Calais*, some of his Courtiers, who were ignorant of his Designs, could not forbear telling him, it was very late to begin a Campaign; the King answered, 'he intended not to make a Summer's Business of the War, and therefore it did not signify when it begun; that he had *Calais* at his Back, where he could Winter, in order to open the Campaign early in the Spring.'

Late as it was in the Year, his Majesty mustered his Forces at *Calais*, which amounted to twenty-five thousand Foot and one thousand six hundred Horse; and on the 15th of *October* he marched from *Calais* at the Head of his Forces. In four Days he appeared before *Bologn*, making as if he intended to besiege it. The next Day after his Arrival *Maximilian* sent a Messenger to inform him, that he was wholly unprovided to enter *France* this Year, as he promised. This News was immediately made known to the whole Army; and some Days after he received Letters from his Ambassador in *Spain*, purporting, that King *Ferdinand* had actually concluded a Peace with *France*. On receiving these Advices, he at first feigned to be very much surprised; but at length consented, that Bishop *Fox*, his constant Ambassador, who was lately returned from the *French* Court, and Marshal *D'Esquerdes*, the *French* Minister, should again confer

confer together, to see whether they could not find an Expedient to make Peace between the two Crowns; and, after some time was spent in Meeting, they agreed upon certain Articles, which were to be left to the good Pleasure of *Henry* and *Charles*; the latter, upon their being presented to him, readily approved of them.

As to *Henry*, he made loud Complaints of the Injustice he pretended he had met with from his Allies, in leaving him to begin the War by himself: Yet this was the Opportunity he wanted, to shew he was obliged to make Peace.

The Bishop soon returned to the Camp, and laid the Articles before the King; whereupon his Majesty called a Council of all the great Courtiers and General Officers of the Army, that they might be fully examined in his Presence, and to advise with them as to what was proper to be done. The Council were unanimously of Opinion, he ought to accept of them. *Henry* followed their Advice, and the same was reduced into a Treaty, which was signed at *Estaples*, Nov. 3. The most considerable are these:

1st, ' That the King of *France* should discharge the Debt contracted by his Queen for the Defence of *Brittany*, amounting to 620,000 Crowns of Gold French Money, or 120,000 *l.* Sterling.

2d, ' That he should pay the King of *England* the Arrears of the yearly Pension of 50,000 Crowns, paid by *Lewis* the XIth to *Edward* the IVth, amounting in all to 125,000 Crowns, which is 25,000 *l.* Sterling.

3d, ' That the King of *France* should pay those two Debts at several Times, namely 50,000 Livres each Year, at half-yearly Payments, till the Whole was discharged.'

On the 17th of *December* the King came to *London*; soon after his Arrival he published the Reasons

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that his Council offered, in order to prevail with him to conclude a Peace (or, as *Rapin* calls it, a Truce) with *France*, the Substance of which here follows :

1. That the King had honourably kept his Word with his Allies, tho' they (the Council) had solicited him to defer his Expedition to a more convenient Season, and that he had led his Army into *France*, put himself in Condition alone to encounter all the Enemies Forces, and exposed his Person to the greatest Danger, at a Time when his Allies had disappointed him ; and therefore, if the War was not continued, he might very justly cast the Blame upon them.

2. That the Sum offered far exceeded any yet paid by *France* to the King's Predecessors, and that his Majesty ought to consider the Season, both in respect to the Length of the Nights and the Coldness of the Weather, which must subject the Troops to Distempers, and the like.

3. That the King was far from being in the same Situation with *Edward* the IVth, when he led an Army into *France*, who was joined by the Duke of *Burgundy* with all his Forces, and by several *French* Lords, and not only begun the War in the midst of Summer, but was in Possession of all the Towns as far as the *Somme* ; whereas his Majesty was not assisted with any Foreign Troops.

4. That he had razed several Places in his March to *Bologne*, as *Aldres* and *Montory*, and stood four and twenty Days ready for Battle, defying the Armies of *France* ; and that very likely the People of *England* would thank the King for a Peace, which would put an End to Taxes and Exactions, and restore the publick Tranquillity.

5. That a Peace would be a great Advantage to the King of the *Romans* and the Arch-duke, whereby the latter would be restored to his Dominions, which could not but redound to the King's Honour and the

the Nation's Advantage, by reason the *English* Merchants would be more secure in their Commerce with *Flanders*.

They concluded their Reasons, with observing, that, before the Siege of *Bologne*, it was thought to be a weak Place ; on the contrary it was found to be well fortified, and plentifully provided with every Thing necessary to sustain the Siege, and that in all Appearance, should the King continue it, he would in the End be obliged to quit the Place with Disgrace ; whereas by making a Peace he might retire with Honour ; and that it was impracticable to continue the War during the Winter, without almost destroying the Army, which would extremely afflict the whole Kingdom.

In short, whatever could be said in Justification of the Peace, the People were much divided in their Opinions concerning it ; some commending, but many more condemning it as dishonourable to the Nation.

But to proceed : It was very odd, that, notwithstanding the Noise *Henry* made of War against *France*, *Charles* should be taking his Pleasure at *Tours*, when the *English* Forces were entering into *Picardy* ; and, what was more extraordinary, he at the same time had no Troops in that Province to oppose the Enemy, which is clear Proof that they were both agreed before-hand. Thus *Henry* succeeded in his darling Purpose, *filling his Coffers*.

For, tho' he obtained of his Parliament a Tenth of all the Personal Estates of his Subjects, he expended no more than what was necessary for levying and maintaining his Army for eight Months, the Money being only advanced for the present, which was afterwards repaid him with Interest : They likewise granted him a Subsidy, under the Name of a *Benevolence*, which amounted to a very great Sum ; And he also received, by the Treaty we have just

mentioned, 125,000 Crowns from *France* for Arrears due on the Pension to *Edward* the IVth.

By *Henry's* giving Way to his penurious Disposition he suffered *Brittany* to be lost, to the irreparable Damage of *England*, as we have before observed ; since the Alliance with that Dutchy gave her that Advantage over *France*, which she could never after recover. But this Monarch, ever greedy of Wealth, found Means, whether in War or Peace, to turn every thing to his own Gain.

Avarice is ever insatiable, and the older a Man is seized with this Vice, the stronger the Passion grows with him ; he has no Intervals of Reflection ; his Thirst after Gold prevents him from seeing even his own Interest, much less that of others.

Tho' *Maximilian* and the Arch-duke his Son disappointed *Henry* the VIIth, in not sending an Army into the Field, yet they refused to be included in the Treaty of *Estaples*. On the contrary, they got some Forces together, but not sufficient to encounter the *French* in the open Field ; and, that being the Case, *Maximilian* was obliged to make use of Craft, in order to effect his Design against *France*.

The Fifth of *November*, he took by Surprise the two Cities of *Arras* and *St. Omers*, and also by Night entered into *Amiens* ; but there he met with a Repulse, and was driven out of the Town. The Winter advancing apace, and his Anger a little abating, he at last agreed to a Truce with *Charles* for a Year, in the Name of his Son *Philip* ; tho' he would neither be comprised nor named in it himself.

Maximilian, having concluded this Truce, gave over his further Projects against *France*, and retired into *Germany*.

He had not been there long before Means were found out to settle the remaining Differences between *France* and the House of *Austria* ; for which End a Conference was agreed on, by

*Further Account
of the Affairs of
Germany,*

1493.

the Mediation of some German Princes and the Swiss Cantons, to be held at *Senlis*, in order to turn the Truce, between King *Charles* and the Arch-duke *Philip*, into a general Treaty of Peace with the whole House of *Austria*.

To this Place the Emperor *Frederick*, *Maximilian* his Son, and the Arch-duke *Philip*, sent Ambassadors, where they met with those on the Part of *France*; and on the 23d of *May* they concluded a Treaty, wherein it was stipulated, 'That *France* should send back *Margaret of Austria* to the Arch-duke her Brother, and with her give up the Countries of *Artois* and *Burgundy*; and that the *French* should retain the four Castles belonging to the four Cities in *Artois*, till four Years were expired, when *Philip* would come of Age; at which Time he should swear to ratify the Peace.' Accordingly this Treaty was ratified and performed on both sides.

Frederick, from the Time of his Returning out of *Flanders*, had given himself wholly up to Peace and Quietness, wherein desiring to die, as he had always endeavoured to live, his Wish was at length accomplished; for he peaceably ended his Days at *Lintz*, a small Town on the *Rhine*, on the 7th of *September*, this Year, after he had reigned fifty-three Years and four Months; therein exceeding all Emperors before him, except *Augustus Cæsar*, who reigned three Years longer, tho' *Frederick* exceeded him in Age, being at the Time of his Death eighty-seven Years old, and *Augustus* was but eighty-five. He was magnificently buried at *Vienna*, with a *Latin* Epitaph upon him, which in *English* is to this Effect:

D. O. M.

Within this Marble lies interred Frederick III. Emperor, pious, august, and sovereign Protector of Christendom; King of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia; Arch-duke of Austria, Duke of Stiria, Carinthia and Carniola; Count,

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Count, Prince of Habsbourg and Tirol; Landgrave of Alsace; Prince of Swabia; Marquess, &c. A Prince most religious, who governed the Empire fifty-three Years with great Wisdom and Moderation, and who, by the Marriage of the Emperor Maximilian, his Son, with the most serene Dame Mary, Daughter and Heiress of Charles Duke of Burgundy, had annexed to the House of Austria all the Dutchies, Principalities, Marquisates, Earldoms, Lordships, and Demesnes, which that Duke possessed, both by Land and Sea; all which the Emperor Maximilian now preserves with his Sword.

This Epitaph shews, that the House of *Austria* has always placed, in the Number of their most glorious Actions, the Alliances which they have made by *Marriage*, and that not without Reason; for to these Alliances they have been beholden for the present Grandeur they enjoy.

Frederick the III^d, notwithstanding his long Life, was but once married, and that was to *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Edward* King of *Portugal*, who died long before him, and by whom he had Issue three Sons and two Daughters. His Sons were *Christopher*, who died a Child; *John*, who also died young; and *Maximilian* the first, who succeeded him in the Empire. His Daughters were *Helena*, who died in her Infancy, and *Conigunda*, who was given in Marriage to *Albert* the IVth, Duke of *Bavaria*, by whom that Prince had the several Dukes, *William*, *Lewis*, and *Ernest*.

The Emperor was a Prince thoroughly qualified for the high Trust reposed in him, and endued with many Virtues; for over and above his Courtesy, desire of Peace, Temperance, and Devotion, he was never heard to swear but twice in all his Life; once at *Aix-la-chapelle*, when he was there crowned; at *Rome*, when he had the like Office done for him in that City by the Pope. He had great Regard for the Pre-

servation

servation of the Dominions of the Empire, which he always maintained to that Degree, that he sometimes made Peace to the diminishing of his own Patrimony : He could never be brought to invest *Francis Sforza*, nor his Son *Galeazzo Maria* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, tho' they were in the quiet Possession thereof, looking upon it of Right to belong to the Empire : His Maxim was, *It is a Happiness to be able to forget what we have no Power to remedy.* In this Emperor's Time it was that the inestimable *Art of Printing* was invented at *Mentz*, afterwards improved at *Straßburg*, and thence transmitted to *Rome*, and other Countries.

Maximilian having been elected and crowned King of the *Romans*, during his Father's Life-time, found but little Difficulty to get to be advanced to the Imperial Dignity ; for immediately after *Frederick's* Obsequies were performed, he was elected Emperor at *Aix-la-chapelle*, the usual Place for that Purpose.

He had been a Widower for some considerable Time, and now was greatly pressed by some of his Council to marry again ; whereupon *Blance Mary*, Sister of *John Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan*, and Niece to *Lewis Sforza*, surnamed, *The Moor*, having, among others, been proposed to him, she being one of the most beautiful Princesses of her Time, he took her to Wife, and was married to her on the 6th of *March* in the same Year.

That Part of *Europe* called *Spain* was antiently divided into many petty Kingdoms, which were reduced under the Government of the Kings of *Arragon*, *Leon*, *Castile*, and the *Saracens*.

Affairs of Spain.
1475.

Henry the IVth, King of *Castile*, died this Year, and left a Daughter named *Joanna*, married to *Alphonfus* King of *Portugal*, who formed in Right of his Wife a Pretension to the Crown of *Castile*. She was said to be a Bastard, whom *Henry* had privately

vately sent away from his Court. *Ferdinand* (afterwards the famous *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*) being then Prince Royal of *Arragon*, well understanding this Matter, having married *Isabella*, Princess of *Castile*, *Jure Marita*, waged War against *Alphonso*, and, having defeated him in Battle, annexed to the Crown of *Arragon* the Kingdom of *Castile*, Old and New, the Kingdom of *Leon*, with *Gallicia*, *Asturia*, *Andalusia*, and *Murcia*.

Upon ending this War, the King of *Portugal* entered into a Treaty with *Ferdinand*, whereby they agreed, that *Alphonso*, the King of *Portugal*'s Grandson, should marry *Isabella*, Daughter of *Ferdinand*, when the Parties were at a suitable Age to consummate.

This Year, the *Spaniards* possessed themselves of the *Canary Islands*, which still belong to the Crown of *Spain*; and in the Year following, *John*, King of *Arragon*, died, on which *Ferdinand* his Son became King of *Arragon* in his stead, when he was engaged in a War against *France*; the Occasion of which was this: King *John* had borrowed of *Lewis* the XIth 300,000 Crowns on Security of *Roussillon* and *Cordagne*; and, one of these Provinces revolting, *John* endeavoured to persuade the Inhabitants to Subjection till he could pay off the Mortgage; but, whilst he was labouring on that Head, *Lewis* caused *Perpignan* to be besieged, and shut up *John* himself in it. After three Months Siege, *Ferdinand* came to his Father's Relief, and obliged the *French* to retire; but the *French* soon renewed their Attack, and became Masters of the Town. On this *Ferdinand* insisted, that the *French* ought to restore *Roussillon* and *Cordagne* without Payment of the Mortgage Money, in order to reimburse him the Expence he had been put to on that Account, which *Lewis* absolutely refused.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand was no sooner seated on the Throne of *Aragon*, but *Charles* of *France* sent an Ambassador to compliment the King on his Accession, who refused to receive him, unless he had full Power to resign both the mortgaged Provinces: And, as the Ambassador had no such Instructions, he immediately returned home.

However, some Years after, *Charles*, as it was said, did, of his own free Will, surrender up those Provinces to *Ferdinand* without any Acknowledgment, save a Promise to be a Friend to *France*; but others say, *Ferdinand* carried this grand Point by corrupting the *French* Ministers.

Be that as it will, *Ferdinand*, by the Acquisitions of the Kingdoms and Provinces, just mentioned, soon became a powerful Prince, and more than a Match for the *Moors*, (they were then called *Saracens*, because they pretended to be descended from *Sarab*) who possessed the fine Kingdom of *Granada*, which made *Ferdinand* begin to think of conquering it, and driving them quite out of that Country. When that was effected, he would then be Master of all *Spain*.

This Year *Ferdinand*, with an Army of sixty thousand Men, besieged the well fortified City of *Granada*, where their King resided, which contained no less than sixty thousand Houses, and two hundred thousand fighting Men. In a short Time he conquered the City, and caused to be massacred above a Million and a half of the *Moors*, sparing only those who professed themselves *Christians*, renounced their Nation, and called themselves *Spaniards*. Those *Moors*, who escaped the Fury of *Ferdinand* and his Army, fled over to the *African* Shore, where they settled, whose Posterity maintain an implacable Hatred against the *Spaniards*, even to this Day.

The Pope was so well pleased with *Ferdinand's* Zeal for Uniformity in Religion, and for expelling

the *Moors* out of *Spain*, that his Holiness conferred on him the Title of the *Catbolick King*, which his Successors have ever since retained.

About this Time another extraordinary Accident fell out of great Consequence to *Spain* in particular, and to *Europe* in general. *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoeſe* by Nation, found a Manuscript in his Possession that had belonged to a certain Mariner; by which, when he came seriously to consider the Disposition of the World, and Roundness of the Globe, composed of Sea and Land, he was fully convinced that there were habitable Countries in Parts opposite to those which we inhabit, not then known to the *European* Nations. This put him upon applying to several Princes for Assistance, in order to sail in quest of what he was almost positive of. After he had in vain solicited several Princes for that End, particularly our *Henry*, he went into *Spain*, and there obtained with much ado three Vessels of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

Columbus being thus furnished, departed from *Cadiz* in the Month of *August*, in the Year 1492, and sailed so far that he discovered the Islands of *Florida*; where, making but little Stay, he returned to *Spain* in *March* following, bringing with him convincing Proofs of his Discovery, and the infinite Riches of those Countries; on which the *Spaniards* gave them the Name of the *West-Indies*; but the Whole of that Side the Globe was called *America*, from *Americus Vespatus*, a *Florentine*, who sailed along most of its Coasts, tho' the Extent of the Continent has not been discovered to this Day, many of its Heathen Kings remaining undisturbed in their Dominions.

Spain, by this Discovery, which our sordid *Henry* missed, got Possession of a prodigious Country in *America*, that brings in more Money than all *Europe* can yield, tho' both the Continent and Islands are but

slightly inhabited, owing to the *Spaniards* Barbarity, by murdering and drowning above fifty Millions of the Natives ; the Horror of which driving also Multitudes further into the Country, *Spain* was obliged to send the more People from *Europe*.

These Proceedings made the Name of a *Spaniard* so odious in those Parts, that an *American* King, on the Point of Execution, being told something about Heaven and Hell, asked, *Whether the Spaniards went to Heaven ?* and, the Reply being in the Affirmative, he said, *I would rather go to Hell with the Indians, than to Heaven with the Spaniards.*

When the *English*, *French*, and other *Europeans* planted Colonies in *America*, they treated the Natives more like Brothers, which had so good an Effect, that the latter were as much esteemed as the former were abhorred.

But the *Spaniards* did not confine their Cruelty to the *Moors* and *Americans* only ; for *Ferdinand* introduced into his own Dominions the terrible *spiritual* Tribunal of the *Inquisition* ; and the Prosecutions that followed were so numerous, that they would fill many Volumes ; he also expelled out of his Dominions the *Jews*, whose Families amounted to not less than 170,000. Hence it plainly appears, that every thing hitherto in *Henry's* Reign contributed to fill the House of *Spain* with Grandeur and Riches ; which was afterwards transferred to the august House of *Austria* by *Philip's* marrying *Jane* of *Spain*. In this Situation were the *Spanish* Affairs at the End of the Year 1494.

In the Beginning of *Henry's* Reign there *Affairs of* were five great Governments or Powers in *Italy*, *Italy* ; to wit, two Republicks, *Venice* and *Florence* ; the Dutchy of *Milan*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the *Holy See*. 1485.

Venice was governed by her Senate, elected *Venice* by the People from among themselves.

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Florence. At *Florence*, the *Medici* Family, by degrees, obtained all the Authority, after they had extirpated the *Passi*.

Milan. *John Galeazzo* was Duke of *Milan*, (of whose Original and Family we shall speak more fully hereafter) but the Dutchy was principally governed by *Ludovic Sforza*, his Uncle, who was a deceitful, sanguinary, crafty Prince, and very aptly surnamed *The Moor*, not only because his Skin was tawny, but for that he exceeded the *Africans* in Treachery and Disloyalty.

Naples. The Kingdom of *Naples* was possessed by *Ferdinand*, Bastard of *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*; But *Charles* the VIIIth of *France* pretended to have a Title to that Kingdom, in Right of Succession from the House of *Anjou*, which he afterwards endeavoured to enforce by Arms.

Rome. At *Rome*, *Innocent* the VIIIth, one of the many eminent Persons descended from the noble Family of *Cibo*, possessed the Papal Chair, being elected the 9th of *August*, 1484, on the Death of *Sextus*. His Holiness remembering the People's Complaints against his Predecessor, for being too indulgent to his Kindred, resolved to be very cautious in that Point, and give no Occasion of Scandal.

The greatest Honours he conferred on his Family were, first he procured a Marriage between *Francisco Cibo* and *Magdalen of Medicis*, Sister of *Leo* (who was afterwards Pope by the Name of *Leo* the Xth.) Next his Holiness gave this Nobleman the Country of *Anquillara*, which was then not of much Importance, and at last made him Captain-general of the Forces of the Church.

A few Days before the Death of the Emperor *Frederick*, Pope *Innocent* quitted this transitory Life for a better, which made room for a new Election.

Alexander

Alexander the VIth was elected Pope the 2d of *August* ; and the Method he took to make himself great in the World was by Force of Arms, and a Rotation of Truces, Leagues, and Treaties.

He proved too a very barbarous Prince, both in Spirituall and Temporall ; in the one he scrupled not at bringing Desolation on the Church ; by the other he imbrued his Hands in innocent Blood, to advance and aggrandize his Kindred. The People of *Rome* used to say, *That the Emperor had taught Tyranny, and the Pope practised it.* He spent his retired Hours in all sorts of unlawful Pleasures, taking great Delight in fine Women, by whom he had so many Bastards, which occasioned another Saying, *That he had filled Rome with Bastards, and Spain with Whores ;* tho' he acknowledged no more than four Sons and two Daughters. Notwithstanding his Variety of Ladies, his chief Favourite was *Vanoccia*, a *Roman* Curtizan, with whom he would sport and toy even in Publick, and kept her at his Table.

Godfrey, his youngest Son, he made Prince of *Symillane*, a City in *Uterior Calabria*, and of the County of *St. Cassiodorus* ; to *Cesar Borgia*, his second Son, he gave a Cardinal's Hat ; and he obtained for *John*, his eldest Son, the Dukedom of *Candia* in *Spain*, who soon after married a Bastard Daughter of the King of *Naples*.

Cesar, being highly displeased to see his Brother *John* above him, and more beloved by his Father, resolved to have him murdered ; to effect which, he contrived to sup with his Brother at their Mother *Vanoccia's*, where he expressed great Affection for him, at the same time he had planted some of his Confidants to assassinate him ; accordingly, *John* after Supper going into the City, the *Russians* fell on him, stabbed him, and cast him half alive headlong into the *Tyber*.

This so shocked and frightened the Pope, that, lest his Son should use him in the same Manner, he concealed

cealed the Fratricide, and smothered the Blood of his eldest Son.

Borgia, having thus villainously got rid of his Brother, turned Soldier, regarding not the Function of a Cardinal. What induced him to play these Pranks were the Hopes of obtaining the Dignity of Standard-Bearer of the Church, and Captain-general of the Pope's Armies, which the old debauched Father not only gave him, but invested him with all the Honours of his murdered Brother.

Let us now return home, and view the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy's* second Scheme for raising another Pretender to the Crown of *England*.

Henry, having now no Quarrel with any foreign Prince, had Hopes of a peaceable Reign for the future, eſpecially as he had not heard of any Diſturbance at home ; but he continued

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not in this State of Eaſe long ; for, whiſt the King was employed in his Expedition againſt *France*, a new Spectre was formed in order to haunt him, who proved a more exquisite Counterfeit than the firſt, being better inſtructed, and more amply countenanced.

This was the darling Contrivance of *Margaret* of *Burgundy*, who would never be at reſt, notwithſtanding her former Diſappointment, till ſhe had produced a new Duke of *York* to embroil the Affairs of the King, always entertaining an irreconcilable Hatred againſt him and the Houſe of *Lancaster*, tho' her Niece was the King's Wife, and had brought him two Sons and a Daughter ; yet ſhe valued not what Fraud or Injuſtice ſhe was guilty of, if ſhe could but accompliſh her End. She was called, by *Henry's* Friends, *Juno*, becauſe ſhe was to him what *Juno* was to *Aeneas*, ſtirring up, as it were, both Heaven and Hell to do him Miſchief.

As ſoon as the Affair of *Lambert Simnell* was over, it was given out, that *Richard*, *Edward* the IVth's younger





younger Son, was not murdered, but in Compassion spared, and sent secretly away ; and, to make People believe this Report, a Boy was trumped up to personate this young Prince, who had all requisite Qualifications, as Years, Wit, Comeliness, and even Majesty itself appeared in his Demeanour, tho' of very mean Extract, being the Son of one *John Osbeck*, who lived at *Tournay*, till he was necessitated to retire with his Wife to *London*, where she bore him this Son, named *Peter*, which, according to the Custom of the *Dutch* Tongue, was converted to *Perkin* ; and those who did not know him, instead of *Osbeck*, called him *Warbeck* ; from whence he afterwards went by the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*.

The Youth was brought to the Dutchess's Court, who was so pleased with his graceful Behaviour, that she immediately resolved to make this *Perkin* assume a Character that no ways belonged to him, in order to prepare him for acting the Part she designed ; in which she took so much Pains to make him perfect, that even those who had seen and known the young Prince could hardly perceive but that this was he ; and tho' he was not King *Edward's* legitimate Son, yet he was his Godson, and might perhaps (as was suspected) have in him some Blood of the House of *York*, tho' meanly born.

When *Perkin* had perfectly learned his Lesson, and *Margaret* thought he was fit to come upon the Stage to act his Part, she sent him into *Portugal*, that, coming from a strange Country, it might be thought he had been driven to wander from one Place to another, for the Safeguard of his Life, or at least that she of all others might not be suspected of setting him up. In *Portugal* he had Directions sent him to pass into *Ireland*. *Henry* having at that Time declared War against *France*, it was judged a proper Time to discover this grand Scene. Accordingly *Warbeck* proceeded to *Cork*, where he soon, thro' his Princely

Department

Deportment and Plenty of Money, was taken Notice of, and looked on as a Person of great Consequence ; at length, with a seeming Reluctance, he acknowledged himself to be the Duke of *York*, who, having escaped out of the Tower,* and passed thro' various Fortunes, was come to that Kingdom, in hopes the Affection, it had ever borne to the House of *York*, would now be continued to him.

This News ran like Wild-fire all over the Kingdom, and several expressed their Joy to find him in Safety ; insomuch, that he had not been long there before the *French* King sent one *Stephen Fryon* after him *, who soon became a principal Engine in all his Proceedings ; and, as *Charles* was then at Variance with *Henry*, he thought *Perkin* might serve his Purpose, tho' a Pretender to *Henry's* Crown ; therefore he invited him over to *France*, which he readily accepted of. On his Arrival at *Paris*, he was entertained in a Princely Manner ; and, to do him greater Honour, *Charles* appointed him a Guard to attend his Person, of which the Lord *Congresball* was made Captain.

Perkin having thus far succeeded, several of the Friends of the House of *York* attended him, and offered their Service, particularly Sir *George Nevill*, Sir *John Taylor*, and *Richard Robinson*. This Magnificence of *Warbeck* at *Paris* lasted but a very little while ; for, as soon as the Peace was concluded between *France* and *England*, he had Notice to be gone, which he as readily complied with, for fear he should be sacrificed as a Peace-offering. He took his Way into *Flanders*, and attended the Dutches of *Burgundy*, which Lady and he acted their Parts with the utmost Exactness ; he made as if he had never been in that Country before, and she as if she had never seen him.

At

* This Man had been King *Henry's* Secretary for the *French* Tongue, but on some Discontent fled into *France*.

At the first Interview *Margaret* treated him very roughly, and appeared not a little amazed, that in her Presence he should dare to stile himself Duke of *York*, and told him in Publick, ' That, having already been imposed on by a counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, she should be more on her Guard, and it would not be easy to deceive her a second Time ; therefore she advised him to retire, lest he incurred the Punishment due to his Presumption.' To which he sighingly replied, ' That, tho' she had Reason to be dubious, he hoped she would not shut out all Belief, when there were some Grounds, and desired her Highness would put to him such Questions that she should think proper.' The Dutcheß did accordingly ; and *Perkin* answered her in such a Manner, that she seemed astonished ; and he told her further, ' That it was no great Novelty to see a young Prince, persecuted by Fortune, sacrificed to the Policy of two potent Monarchs ; that this very Article was a strong Argument in his Favour, since the Peace between *Charles* and *Henry* could not be established but on his Ruin.' The Dutcheß at length pretended, that she could not resist such evident Proofs of *Perkin's* being her Nephew, and publicly declared herself convinced, and owned him as such ; and, to put a better Colour on the Matter, she assigned him a Guard of thirty Persons cloathed in Blue and Murrey, and stiled him, *The White Rose of England.* *

P

Warbeck's

* The Occasion of the Distinction of the *White* and *Red Roses*, *Shakespeare*, in his Play of *Henry* the VIth, (Act II. Scene V.) beautifully describes, in a hot Dispute between two Princes of the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, in the Temple Gardens.

Enter Richard Plantagenet, Warwick, Somerset, Suffolk, and others.

Plan. Great lords and gentlemen, what means this silence ? Dare no man answer in a case of truth ?

Suf. Within the Temple-hall we were too loud,

Warbeck's Behaviour, joined to the Dutchess's open Approbation, satisfied the whole Court, that he was the true Duke of *York*; which News, being carried over to *England*, was there greedily swallowed, as well by Admirers of Novelty, as the Discontented and Lovers of Equity; for the Crown belonged neither to *Henry* nor his Wife, if her Brother was alive; Whispermings, Freedom of Discourse, and Compliments arose.

The garden here is more convenient.

Plan. Then say at once if I maintain'd the truth :
Or else was wrangling *Somerfet* in th' error ?

Som. Judge you, my lord of *Warwick*, then between us.

War. Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch ;
Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth ;
Between two blades, which bears the better temper ;
Between two horses, which doth bear him best ;
Between two girls, which hath the merriest eye,
I have perhaps some shallow spirit of judgment :
But in these nice sharp quilllets of the law,
Good faith I am no wiser than a daw.

Plan. Tut, tut, here is a mannerly forbearance :
The truth appears so naked on my side,
That any pur-blind eye may find it out.

Som. And on my side it is so well apparell'd,
So clear, so shining, and so evident,
That it will glimmer through a blind man's eye.

Plan. Since you are tongue-ty'd, and so loth to speak,
In dumb significance proclaim your thoughts :
And him that is a true-born gentleman,
And stands upon the honour of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
From off this briar pluck a *white rose* with me.

Som. Let him that is no coward, and no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth,
Pluck a *red rose* from off this thorn with me.

War. I love no colours ; and without all colour
Of base insinuating flattery,
I pluck this *white rose* with *Plantagenet*.

Suf. I pluck this *red rose* with young *Somerfet*,
And say withal I think he held the right.

Ver. Stay, lords and gentlemen, and pluck no more,
'Till you conclude that he upon whose side
The fewest roses are cropp'd from the tree,
Shall yield the other in the right opinion.

Som.

arose. The present ill Government, the endless Impositions, and the dishonourable Peace with *France* was in every Man's Mouth; so that most Men's Opinion met in the same Point; they declared, that God, being a just Judge, had preserved the true Heir for the Throne, which had been twice usurped from him.

P 2

On

Som. Good master *Vernon*, it is well objected;
If I have fewest, I subscribe in silence.

Plan. And I.

Ver. Then for the truth and plainness of the case,
I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,
Giving my verdict on the *white rose* side.

Som. Well, well, come on, who else?

Lawyer. Unless my study and my books be false,
The argument you held was wrong in you.

[To *Somerſet*,

In ſign whereof I pluck a *white roſe* too.

Plan. Now *Somerſet*, where is your argument?

Som. Here is my Scabbard, meditating that
Shall dye your *white roſe* to a bloody red.

Plan. Now by this maiden blossom in my hand,
I scorn thee and thy * passion, peevish boy.

Suf. Turn not thy scorns this way, *Plantagenet*.

Plan. Proud *Pool*, I will, and scorn both him and thee.

Suf. I'll turn my part thereof into thy throat.

Som. Away, away, good *William de la Pool*;

We grace the Yeoman by conversing with him.

War. Now by God's will thou wrong'st him, *Somerſet*.

His grandfather was *Lyonel Duke of Clarence*,
Third son to the third *Edward King of England*:
Spring crestless Yeomen from so deep a root?

Plan. He bears him on the place's privilege,
Or durst not for his craven heart say thus.

Som. By him that made me, I'll maintain my words
On any plot of ground in Christendom.

Was not thy father, *Richard Earl of Cambridge*,

For treason headed in our late King's days?

And by his treason stand'st not thou attainted,

Corrupted and exempt from antient gentry?

His trespass yet lives guilty in thy blood,

And, till thou be restor'd, thou art a yeoman.

Plan. My father was attached, not attainted,
Condemn'd to die for treason, but no traitor;

* *fashion*.

And

On this, several Persons of great Quality were resolved to enquire into the Truth of the Rumour; among which were the Lord Chamberlain, Sir *William Stanley*, *John Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, Sir *Simon Mouniford*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William Dawbeney*, *Thomas Cressenox*, *Thomas Astwood*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, *William Worsley*, Dean of *St. Paul's*; by whom it was resolved, that Sir *Robert Clifford* and *William Barclay* should go to the Court of *Burgundy*, that they might, by their Report, be thoroughly satisfied. They proceeded accordingly; and after *Clifford* had been some Days at that Court, he conversed with *Perkin*; on which he wrote Letters to *England*, and confidently affirmed, that he knew him to be the real Duke

And that I'll prove on better men than *Somerſet*,
Were growing time once ripen'd to my will.
For your partaker *Pool*, and you yourself,
I'll note you in my book of memory,
To scourge you for this apprehension;
Look to it well, and ſay you are well warn'd.

Som. Ah, thou ſhalt find us ready for thee ſtill;
And know us by theſe colours for thy foes:
For theſe my friends in ſight of thee ſhall wear.

Plan. And, by my ſoul, this pale and angry roſe
As cognizance of my blood-drinking hate
Will I for ever and my faction wear,
Until it wither with me to my grave,
Or flouriſh to the height of my degree.

Suf. Go forward, and be choak'd with thy ambition.
And ſo farewel, until I meet thee next.

Som. Have with thee, *Pool*: farewel, ambitious *Richard*.

Plan. How I am brav'd, and muſt perforce endure it!

War. This blot, that they object againſt your houſe,
Shall be wip'd out in the next parliament,
Call'd for the truce of *Wincheſter* and *Glouceſter*:
And if thou be not then created *York*,
I will not live to be accounted *Warwick*.
Mean time in ſignal of my love to thee,
Againſt proud *Somerſet* and *William Pool*,
Will I upon thy party wear this roſe.
And here I prophetic; this brawl to-day,
Grown to this faction, in the Temple-garden,
Shall ſend between the red roſe and the white
A thouſand ſouls to death and deadly night.

[Exit.]

[Exit.]

[Exeunt.]

Duke of *York*, by several undeniable Tokens. No sooner was Sir *Robert's* Account of *Perkin* made known to the Persons we have been speaking of, but they privately met to consult Measures, in relation to raising Forces to assist him in his Pretensions.

The King was surprized to see with what Eagerness the News of *Perkin's* being Duke of *York* was received in *England* and other Parts, and was fully convinced of the great Danger he was in : However, he appeared unconcerned, lest his expressing any Fear should encourage his Adversaries ; but he took a particular Care to send out his Spies to watch the Motions of his Enemies, who acted their Parts so well, that by degrees they learnt where *Perkin* was born, who were his Parents, and the different Steps taken abroad in his Favour ; this they soon informed the King of ; nor was *Henry* and his Friends less assiduous at home, to watch the Motions of *Perkin's* Abettors.

Philip, Arch-duke of *Austria*, gave into the Humour that then prevailed, as to *Perkin's* being the true Duke of *York*, and secretly encouraged him in his Claim to the Crown of *England* ; which being made known to *Henry* the VIIIth, he sent Sir *Edward Poynings*, and *William Warham*, Doctor of Laws, Ambassadors to expostulate with *Philip* concerning what he had heard, and to desire that Prince to deliver up the Impostor.

In the Audience, which *Henry's* Ambassadors had of *Philip* and his Council, *Warham* being Spokesman,

He represented to them, ' That it was contrary to
' the Law of Nations, and the Alliance that subsisted
' between *Henry* and *Philip*, for him to protect a
' Counterfeit, who sought to rob the King of his
' Crown, and who was in fact an evident Impostor :
' That their Master was informed of all the Circum-
' stances of *Perkin's* Life from his Cradle, and offer-
' ed to produce authentick Proofs of the Cheat, as
' well as of the Death of the Duke of *York*, whose
' Name

' Name *Warbeck* borrowed : That *Perkin* was only a theatrical King, formed by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, and as such he hoped the Arch-duke would not scruple to deliver him into the King their Master's Hands, in order that he might be dealt with according to his Demerit.'

In answer to *Warham's* Request, *Philip's* Council told the Ambassadors, ' That the Arch-duke's Intentions were always to preserve a good Understanding with the King of *England*, and therefore would give no manner of Assistance to the pretended Duke of *York* ; but the Dutchess of *Burgundy* being Sovereign in the Lands of her Dowry, the Arch-duke could not intermeddle with her Affairs, or hinder her from doing what she thought fit.'

The Ambassadors were highly dissatisfied with this Answer, and, finding they could obtain no further Assurances, returned home, and made their Report to their Master.

Henry was so provoked at the Treatment his Ambassadors had met with, that he banished all *Flemings* out of his Kingdom, and prohibited Commerce with them ; the Arch-duke did the like, by the *English* that were in *Flanders* ; but the Animosity of these two Princes went no further ; each fearing that he might one Day want the other's Assistance.

Whilst the King's Enemies were employed, both at home and abroad, in assisting of *Perkin*, *Henry* himself was no less intent to avert the intended Tempest, and sent certain Knights with a Band of Soldiers into every Port, to watch the Shores and Sea-Coasts, that no one might come in or go out of the Kingdom without being searched and examined ; he also took all the Pains he could to undeceive the People, by producing Evidence of the Duke of *York's* being murdered in the Manner we have before mentioned, and that the Person who had borrowed his Name was a Counterfeit.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding his Majesty's Precaution, his Enemies persisted in declaring, that *Warbeck* was the true Duke of *York*, and as such the Friends of the House of *York* continued to make a Party for him in *England*; and some of them secretly got over to *Flanders*, to confer with the Dutchess, *Perkin*, and *Clifford*, who freely opened their Minds to each other; whereby Sir *Robert Clifford* was fully informed of the Steps that were taken in *England* in favour of *Margaret's White Rose*; and with these different Proceedings ended the Year 1493.

The Beginning of the ensuing Year, *Henry* 1494. found Means to draw *Clifford* off from his Party; so that he betrayed all the Proceedings of *Perkin* and his Friends both in *Flanders* and *England*.

His Majesty having carried so material a Point with Sir *Robert Clifford*, constantly received an exact Information of what was transacting; and, as it could not but be dangerous to let the Evil increase, he resolved to apply proper Remedies; for which Purpose, in the Month of *July*, he caused to be arrested in one Day, and almost at the same Instant, *John Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, and four others, who were immediately tried and convicted of High Treason, for adhering and promising to aid *Perkin*. The Lord *Fitzwalter* was sent Prisoner to *Calais*, with Hopes of obtaining his Pardon; but his Impatience causing him to attempt to escape, he was discovered and beheaded before the End of *October*. Sir *Simon Mountford* and two others were executed directly after their Condemnation; the rest were pardoned on certain Conditions.

The King kept his Christmases at *Westminster*; and, upon hearing that Sir *Robert Clifford* 1495. was returned to *England*, he removed to the Tower, where he ordered Sir *Robert* to attend him. The Reason

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Reason why *Henry* chose to see *Clifford* first in that Place was, in case he accused any of the Nobility, they might be called thither, without Suspicion as to any Ill being intended against them, which answered his Majesty's View.

Clifford attended according to Order, and was introduced to the King, who received him very graciously, and in Person confirmed the Pardon he had promised him. Sir *Robert* made a full Confession to his Majesty of all he knew, in respect to *Perkin's* Designs, and named several of his secret Friends in *England*, among which Sir *William Stanley* was one, of whom the King was not informed before.

When *Henry* first heard the News of *Stanley's* Treason, he bid *Clifford* take Care, since his Life lay at stake, in case the Accusation was groundless; but *Clifford* persisting, Sir *William* was apprehended, and confined to his Room within the Square Tower. On his Examination he confessed enough to condemn himself; yet he hoped he should not be treated with Rigour, both in respect to his former Service and the Interest of his Brother; but two Things very likely rendered his Crime unpardonable; the first was his immense Riches, which of course must suffer Confiscation, and therefore put his Majesty upon resolving to sacrifice him to his Avarice, under Colour of punishing his Crime: The other was his saying to *Clifford*, speaking of *Perkin Warbeck*, 'That if he was sure the young Man was Son of *Edward* the IVth, he would not bear Arms against him.' This last was wounding the King in the most sensible Part, since he seemed to acknowledge the House of *York* had a better Title to the Crown, than the House of *Lancaster*.

In short, Sir *William* was immediately brought to his Tryal, and convicted of Treason, for holding Intelligence with *Perkin* and the Dutchess of *Burgundy*; and all the Favour he could obtain was a Delay of his Execution

Execution for some Weeks, to prepare himself for Death, which was compleated by beheading him on the 16th of *February* *.

The King's Severity on this Occasion seemed excessive; all the World expected he would have pardoned a Lord to whom he was so much obliged, and who enabled him to execute Acts of Mercy by procuring him the Crown.

Historians in general agree, that the Execution of the Lord Chamberlain terrified the whole Kingdom, he being condemned for a Crime of which few *Englishmen* were innocent, namely, for preferring the Title of *York* to that of *Lancaster*; the great Men durst not speak their Thoughts one to another for fear of Spies; but this Restraint was in some Measure made up by Swarms of Libels published against the Judges, the Council, and the King himself; which so enraged him, that he ordered five Persons, convicted of dispersing Libels, to be executed at different Times.

Q

These

* Lord *Bacon*, speaking of this Affair, says, ' That Sir *William Stanley* was the richest Subject for Value in the Kingdom, there being found in his Castle of *Hole* 40,000 Marks in ready Money, and Plate, besides Jewels, Household-stuff, Stocks upon his Grounds, and other Personal Estate, exceeding great; and for his Revenue in Land and Fee, it was 3000 Pounds a Year of old Rent, a large Sum in those Days. Lastly, the Nature of the Time, for, if the King had been out of Fear of his own Estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his Life. But the Cloud of so great a Rebellion hanging over his Head made him work sure.

' That to this Day it is left in dark Memory, both what the Case of this noble Person was for which he suffered, and what likewise was the Ground and Cause of his Defection, and the Alienation of his Heart from the King.

' As to Sir *William Stanley's* falling off from the King; it's true, that at *Bosworth* Field he was beset, and in a manner inclosed round by *Richard's* Troops, and in manifest Danger of his Life, when this *Stanley* was sent by his Brother with 3000 Men to his Rescue, which he performed, and *K. Richard* was killed upon the Spot; so as the Condition of mortal Men is not capable of a greater Benefit, than the King

These Executions, especially that of the Lord Chamberlain, extremely disconcerted *Perkin's* Designs ; those that were with him, after *Clifford* had deserted the Party, looked strange on one another, not knowing who was faithful to their Side ; inso-much, that the King by degrees drew off the most valuable of them from aiding him. *Barclay* was one that stuck by him the longest ; tho' even he at last made his Peace.

Sir *William Stanley* was succeeded in his Place of Lord Chamberlain by *Giles Lord Dawbeney*, a Man of great Valour, a gentle Disposition, courteous Behaviour, and highly respected by the People.

The Earl of *Derby*, *Henry's* Father-in-law, continued, whilst these Matters were transacting, with his Countess, (the King's Mother,) at his Seat at *La-tham*, who both greatly lamented Sir *William's* unhappy Fate : But his Majesty, in order to demonstrate to the World, that the Proceedings against his Lord Cham-

received by the Hands of *Stan-
ley*, being, like the Benefit of
Christ, at once to save and
crown ; for which Service the
King gave him great Gifts, and
made him his Counsellor and
Chamberlain, and, somewhat
contrary to his Nature, wink-
ed at the great Spoils he made
at *Bosworth* Field : That, be-
ing blown up with the Con-
ceit of his Merit, he did not
think he received good Mea-
sure from the King ; and his
Ambition was so exorbitant
and unbounded, as he became
Suitor to the King for the
Earldom of *Chester*, which
ever being a kind of an Ap-
penage to the Principality of
Wales, and using to go to the
King's Son, his Suit did not

only end in a Denial, but in a
Distaste, the King perceiving
thereby that his Designs were
intemperate, and his Cogita-
tions vast and irregular, and
yet his former Benefits were
but cheap and lightly regarded
by him ; wherefore the King
begun not to brook him well ;
and, as a little Leaven of new
Distaste doth commonly sower
the whole Lump of former
Merit, the King's Wit began
to suggest unto his Passion, that
Stanley at *Bosworth* Field, tho'
he came Time enough to save
his Life, yet he staid long
enough to endanger it ; yet,
having no Matter against him,
he confirmed him in his Place
until this his Fall.

Chamberlain had not in any Degree diminished the Affection he bore to the Earl, made a Tour to *Latham*, to pay him a Visit, where he continued several Days.

Soon after the King's Return from *Latham*, he created his second Son, *Henry*, Duke of *York*, and conferred the Honour of Knighthood on several Gentlemen: And about this Time *Cecil*, Dutches of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the IVth, died in a good old Age, who lived to see three Princes of her Blood crowned, and four murdered.

After the different Executions we have been speaking of, *Perkin's* Party much decreased both at home and abroad.

The Beginning of this Year the Dutches of 1496. *Burgundy* began to act vigorously again in favour of *Perkin*; for she could not bear the Thoughts of relinquishing the Idol formed by herself; and, judging it necessary to take other Steps than before, she, without waiting any longer for the Assistance of the great Men in *England*, (who were narrowly watched, and become extremely cautious,) gave Orders to draw together some Forces and equip Ships, on board which she caused *Perkin* to embark with Directions to land in *Kent*.

The King was not apprised of these Preparations, and, having heard nothing lately of *Perkin*, determined to make a Progress into *Yorkshire*; on this Journey he set out the 28th of *June*. *Henry* had not been long gone before *Warbeck* arrived on the Coast of *Kent*, near *Sandwich*, where he landed some Men to sound the Inclination of the Inhabitants, who boasted to the *Kentishmen*, that he was assisted with a very considerable Force, and invited them to take up Arms in his Quarrel. The People, perceiving most of them that landed were Foreigners, instead of joining them, advised with the neighbouring Gentle-

men what was proper to be done; and it was resolved, that they should feign to assist *Perkin*, in order to allure him to the Land, whereby they might have an Opportunity to take him Prisoner. According to this Advice they took Arms, and appeared on the Coasts, making Signs to him and his Men to land; but the *White Rose* and his Counsellor, suspecting the Artifice, kept on board, waiting the Return of some of their People to inform them what passed on Shore. And at last the *Kentishmen*, finding they could draw in no more, fell upon those that were landed, and cut them in pieces, except a hundred and fifty which they took Prisoners. The Youth hearing what had passed, weighed Anchor, retreated in the utmost Hurry, and was no more heard of till he landed in *Ireland*.

His Majesty in his Progress heard with Pleasure what the *Kentishmen* had done, which caused him to return to *London* sooner than he intended, in order to be present at the Disposing of the Prisoners. The Sheriff of *Kent* conducted them to *London*, raled in Ropes like Horses drawing a Cart, where they were put into the *Tower*, *Newgate*, and other Goals: About the End of *September* they were brought to their Trials, convicted of Treason, and, to strike a greater Terror into the People, many of them were hanged about the Sea-coast in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Suffex*, and *Norfolk*; the rest were executed at *Tyburn* and *Wapping*. This gallant Action of the *Kentishmen* so pleased the King, that he sent *Sir Richard Guilford* into *Kent*, to thank the People of that County for their Fidelity, and, for greater Safeguard of the Coast, caused Beacons to be erected.

*The Proceedings
of the fifth Par-
liament, held
October 13,
1496.*

On the 13th of *October*, *Henry* assembled his Parliament; but we do not find, that either the King, or his Chancellor, *Morton*, made any Speech to them, or demanded Aid; so that it seems the chief End of the Parliament's Meeting

ing was purely to enact such Laws as were wanting for the Good of the Commonwealth.

Lord Bacon says, 'It may be justly suspected, by what followed, that, as the King did excel in good Commonwealth Laws, so nevertheless he had in secret a Design to make use of them, as well for collecting of Treasure as for correcting of Manners.' The Chief of them were *

Soon after the Parliament broke up, the King received Advice, that *Warbeck* was landed in *Ireland*; whereupon he ordered the Coasts to be strictly guarded; and, to see that his Orders were obeyed, he went to several Places in Person.

The Dutchess of *Burgundy* now sent proper Persons to treat privately with the King of *Scotland*, about assisting *Perkin* to raise a Rebellion in *England*, who came into her Measures: And it was also believed, that the Emperor and the Arch-duke, *Philip*, were likewise in the Secret; the latter in Revenge, for *Henry's* Prohibition to his Subjects of all Commerce with the *Low Countries*, and the other with a Design to hinder *Henry's*

* 1. That no Person, that did assist in Arms the King for the Time being, should after be impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the Course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; but if any such Act of Attainder should happen to be made, it should be void, and of none Effect.

2. For the *Benevolence*, whereby it was ordained, that the Sums any Persons had agreed to pay, and were not yet brought in, the King might levy by course of Law; which was certainly passed, not only to get in the Arrears, but to countenance the whole Business.

3. Declared the Ability of

every Man, that should be impannelled in any Enquest in *London*, and fixed the Attaint upon a false Verdict between Party and Party, extending not to capital Cases, nor to any Suit where the Demand was under the Value of Forty Pounds.

4. That where Women, advanced by their Husbands, or their Husbands Ancestors, should seek to defeat the next Heir in Remainder of his Right, in such Case the Party should have Power to enter for a Forfeiture.

5. For the Admission of poor Suitors *in forma pauperis* without paying any Fee to Counsel, Attorney, or Clerk. Lord Bacon makes this Observation on the

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ry's entering into a League that was forming in *Italy*, to which he was strongly solicited.

After *Perkin* had been some Weeks in *Ireland*, he again embarked and landed in *Scotland* in *November*, and proceeded to *Edinburgh*, in full Assurance of being kindly received.

About this Time the Lord *Evaindale* died, and the Earl of *Anguse* was made Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Hume* Great Chamberlain. *Scotland* now enjoyed great Peace, the Grounds of Dissention being entirely vanished.

James being in the full Vigour of his Youth, and remembering, that to live in Idleness was to live condemned, by change of Objects he hoped to expel the Remains of his Sadness, and enable himself for War when it should happen; that put him for the present upon using all knightly Exercises, keeping an open and magnificent Court, in which State *Perkin* found him.

Warbeck had not been long in *Scotland* before he had Audience given him by the King, in the Presence of his

Act, 'Whereby poor Men became rather able to vex, than sue.'

6. In respect to what Stuff Upholsterers in *London* shall put in Bolsters, Feather-beds, Pillows, Quilts, Mattresses, and Cushions; and that if any should be found to be made contrary to the Direction of this Act, the same were declared to be forfeited. See Stat. 5 Edw. VI. 23.

7. Certain Forfeitures were imposed on Persons therein described, who should take Pheasants or Partridges, or the Eggs of Hawks or Swans.

8. In respect to the Selling of Salmon and Eels, wherein were described what their Vessels,

Packing and Gauging should be, under certain Penalties.

9. To give a Remedy where deceitful Sleights were used upon Fustians. See Stat. 39 Eliz. 13.

10. Wherein Mention was made of the Cities and Towns that were authorized for keeping of Weights and Measures.

11. Declared what Custom should be paid, when Clothes shall be pack'd in one Port, and shipped in another.

12. Declared who may carry a Horse out of *England* without the King's License, and fixed the Price of a Mare, and what Custom should be paid in case she should be exported.

his chief Nobility. The Impostor's majestick Look, accompanied with a happy Demeanor, turned the Opinions of all that heard him in his Favour. In his Speech he told the King, ' That he was the unfortunate *Richard Plantagenet*, Son to King *Edward* the IVth ; that, drawn by Fraud from his Mother's Bosom, he was brought to the *Tower of London*, there to be murdered with his Brother ; but that, sudden Pity arising in the Breasts of those who were to have been his Executioners, they contented themselves with the Death of his elder Brother, and saved him, giving him Life, Liberty, and the Means to escape.' He then set forth, ' the various Changes of his Fortune, and the Encouragement he had received from foreign Princes.'

Perkin having thus pathetically delivered himself, *James* answered, ' That whatsoever he was, he should not repent putting himself into his Hands.' In short, his Expressions, Compassion to his seeming hard Case, the Recommendations and secret Promises of many Princes, prevailed on the King to give him the Assurance of his Assistance. Some, who knew he was only a Pretender, endeavoured to dissuade his Majesty from it, tho' in vain ; for he not only appointed him an Attendance and Entertainment answerable to his pretended Quality, but gave him in Marriage the Lady *Catherine Gourdon*, Daughter to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley*, his near Kinswoman.

The King did not think these sufficient, he must needs undertake to place his Cousin *Perkin* on the Throne of *England*, expecting, as he had been told, that, as soon as he should arrive there at the Head of an Army, the *Yorkists* to a Man would declare for *Warbeck*. Accordingly *James* entered *Northumberland*, and immediately published a formal Declaration, in his Kinsman's Name, to this Effect :

‘ That

‘ That being, by the Grace of God and Favour of
 ‘ *James* King of *Scotland*, entered into the Kingdom
 ‘ of *England*, it was not to make War on his Sub-
 ‘ jects, but to free them from Tyranny. That, tho’
 ‘ it was well known the Crown belonged to the
 ‘ Royal House of *York*, *Henry Tudor* had usurped
 ‘ the Throne, designing to deprive him of his Life ;
 ‘ boasting, that he had eased the Nation of a Ty-
 ‘ rant, at the Time himself was a far greater : That
 ‘ he had sold the Kingdom’s best Friends for ready
 ‘ Money, made a dishonourable Peace ; and not only
 ‘ oppressed the Subjects, but unjustly put to Death
 ‘ Sir *William Stanley*, the Lord Chamberlain, and se-
 ‘ veral others, who were ready to withstand his Op-
 ‘ pressions. Wherefore as he, *Richard* Duke of *York*,
 ‘ was come to free them from Violence, so, by his
 ‘ Regal Authority, he from that Time abolished all
 ‘ that had been imposed upon them by *Henry* ; and
 ‘ granted them a general Pardon for having illegally
 ‘ obeyed an Usurper, on Condition they now submit-
 ‘ ted themselves, and acknowledged him for their
 ‘ King ; withal promising one thousand Pounds in
 ‘ ready Money, and an Inheritance of an hundred
 ‘ Marks a Year to any one that should take or kill
 ‘ *Henry Tudor*.’

This Declaration proving of no Effect, and *James*’s Expectation, of the People’s declaring for *Perkin*, being frustrated, he suffered his Army to destroy without Mercy.

Perkin, on this Occasion, acted the Part of a Prince well enough ; for, when he saw the *Scotch* wasting the Country, he addressed himself thus passionately to the King, saying, *That it grieved him to the Heart to see such Havock made of his Subjects. To which James answered, Alas, you take Care for them, who, by any Thing to the contrary that yet appears, are none of yours.* After the Soldiers had enriched

riched themselves by the Spoils, *James*, hearing that great Forces were marching against them, took himself and his Army in all haste back into *Scotland*.

At this Juncture, *December 18*, the Duke of *Bedford*, King *Henry's* Uncle and faithful Friend, died, and was honourably buried in the Abbey of *Keynsham* in *Gloucestershire*. For the present we shall quit the Affairs of *England*, and proceed to *Ireland*.

In this Year his Majesty appointed his second Son, *Henry*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Ireland*, *Affairs of Ireland, 1494.* and Sir *Edward Poynings* his Deputy, a Man well versed in Affairs both at Home and Abroad, having been employed in several Embassies. This Gentleman was intrusted with more Power than any Governor had been before.

Sir *Edward*, on his Arrival in *Ireland*, made strict Enquiry after those suspected of Disaffection to the King, particularly the Earls of *Desmond* and *Kildare*; the latter was the Son of that Earl, who was killed in assisting *Lambert Simnell*. The first took Care to keep himself out of *Poynings's* Reach, but the other was taken and sent Prisoner into *England*.

Ireland was then divided into two sorts of Inhabitants, the one civilized, by conversing with different Nations, especially the *English*; the other wild and savage, living by Theft, inclined to Rebellion and Novelty, destroying one another, just as they were set on by their Chiefs. *Perkin*, thinking the turbulent Dispositions of the wild Part of those People would best suit his Purpose, principally addressed himself to them; and *Poynings* knowing them most guilty, turned his Arms mostly against them; but they would never stand an Attack, always flying to their Bogs and Mountains.

Poynings called a Parliament, which met, on *Monday* before the Feast of St. *Andrew* this Year, at *Drogheda*, which was famous for the Statutes there enacted for the Advantage of the Crown of *England*, and of the

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English settled in *Ireland* * ; which are in force to this Day, and called *Poynings's Laws*.

After *Ireland* was reduced to a quiet Condition, his Majesty was pleased to recal Sir *Edward*, having other important Affairs to employ him in ; and for the good Services he had done, during his Residence in *Ireland*, made him Knight of the Garter.

About the Beginning of this Year, the King 1495. appointed *Henry Dean*, Bishop of *Bangor*, Lord-Deputy in *Poynings's* Place ; and also made him Chancellor of *Ireland*, which Offices he held till the 6th of *August*, 1496 ; when the Earl of *Kildare* was appointed Lord-deputy in his stead, owing to the following Accident.

Kildare had been kept Prisoner in *England* for some time ; at last he was brought before his Majesty in Council, where, many Crimes being alledged against him, the King told him, he should have what Council he desired, for that he doubted his Cause was very bad ; the Earl answered, *I will pitch upon the best Council in England.* *Who is that ?* said the King : *Marry, even your Highness,* rejoined the Earl ; whereon his Majesty laughed, and, without more ado the Council against him was ordered to proceed. The first concluded his Pleadings with observing, *That all Ireland could not govern this Man.* To which *Henry* merrily answered, *That since it was so, Kildare was the fittest Man to govern Ireland.* Accordingly, for his Jest Sake, he not only dismissed the Prosecution, but made him Lord-deputy of that Kingdom. ' In which Post (the *Irish* Historians say) ' no one could behave with more Loyalty to his ' Prince than that Nobleman, and was continued in it ' several Years.' Whilft

* One was, ' That the Parliament of *Ireland* should not be assembled, before the King was acquainted with the Reason for calling them, and a Royal License obtained under the Great Seal for that Purpose : That all Statutes that had been made in *England*, concerning the Publick, should be observed in *Ireland*.

Whilst these different Affairs of *Europe* were transacting, Mr. *Wolsey* continued at *Oxford*, taking his Degrees, first of Batchelor of Arts, and, as we have before observed, had made an extraordinary Progress in Logick and Philosophy; then he was elected Fellow of *Magdalen* College, commenced Master of Arts, and soon after he was chosen Master of the School, and Burser of the said College, during which Time the great Tower there was finished. ‘ Some have pretended, says Dr. *Fiddes*, that he made use of violent Methods to supply himself from the Treasury with Money necessary to carry on that Design; but had there really been any good Foundation for so high a Charge, and of so heinous a Nature, it’s very probable that one or other of the Cardinal’s Enemies would in his Life-time have openly objected it to him, which yet we do not find any of them have pretended to do; neither is it in the least credible, that a Person of his great Views would have been guilty of a Fact that could not be concealed, and which, if once known, would be a continual Bar to him in all his future Pretensions to Favour or Preferment. It’s likely, if he did use any forcible Means to come into the Treasury, he apprehended himself at least unjustly opposed, and, contrary to some previous Trust, which the Society had reposed in him; yet wherein they might think convenient, by reason of the growing, unexpected Expences of the Building, that he should be restrained.’ Upon the whole, the most candid way of judging is to consider, that this noble Structure is an early Instance of *Wolsey*’s great and enterprizing Mind.

Mr. *Wolsey*, during his Residence at *Oxford*, had the Satisfaction of an early Acquaintance with the famous *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam*, who for some time studied both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and jointly with *Wolsey* greatly promoted what was then called the *New Learning*, particularly the *Greek* Language, which gained *Wolsey* great Reputation in the University.

He had the Pleasure, whilst he was Schoolmaster, of having committed to his Care the Education of several Noblemen and Gentlemen's Sons ; among which were three of the Marquis of *Dorset's*, that proved very happy for him. Thus *Wolsey*, at the End of the Year 1496, through his Diligence and great Capacity, seemed to be in a fair Way for further Preferment. Now, to return to the Publick Affairs of *England and Scotland*,

Henry was very much intraged, when he heard what the *Scotch* had been doing of ; he instantly raised an Army, in order to oppose them, and gave the Command of it to the Earl of *Surry*, who soon after proceeded on their March towards the North, but before they set out, the King thought proper to call his Parliament, which met on the 16th of *January*.

He opened the Parliament with a Speech, wherein he represented to them, ' the dishonourable Treatment of the King of *Scotland*, who had turned his Arms upon unarmed People, with a Design only to pillage and depopulate, ' contrary to the Laws of War and Peace ; ' telling them, ' that he hoped he should be assisted by them, ' so as to be enabled to revenge the Injuries his Subjects had met with from the *Scotch*.'

The King's Speech had the desired Effect, the Parliament instantly granted him a bountiful Subsidy, to put him in a Capacity to revenge the Injuries complained of ; and, after passing the Laws under-mentioned *, they were dissolved,

Henry

* That the Makers of Worsted says, &c. in *Norfolk* might take any Persons to be their Apprentices, so as the Parties should not take above two at any one time.

2. Declared the Weight of an *English* Penny, of an Ounce, a Pound, a Gallon, and a Bushel.

3. That every *Englishman* should have free Recourse to

certain foreign Marts, without Exaction to be taken by any *English* Fraternity.

4. To attain *James Grame*, who murdered his Master, of Petty Treason, and declared that no Lay Person that should then after be guilty of such Offence, should have the Benefit of his Clergy.

Henry, having thus far succeeded with his Parliament, he begun to endeavour underhand to settle Matters amicably with *Scotland*, in hopes of sinking the intire Subsidy; still he perceived it necessary not to slacken his Preparations for War, without which Negotiations generally prove fruitless. He also gave strict Orders to his Commissioners, who were to gather the Subsidy in the several Counties, to hasten their Collections, cunningly suggesting, that if he should conclude a Peace with *Scotland* before they had gathered it, his Subjects would pay it with Reluctance.

These Gentlemen proceeded in their Office with great Rigour, they had no sooner begun to levy the Subsidy in *Cornwal*, but the People there murmured, and said, ‘ That if the King must have Money, it was better to receive it from those who lived idle; as to their Parts they earned their Bread with the Sweat of their Brows, and no Man should take it from them.’ These Murmurs were encouraged by two Persons; one *Michael Joseph*, a Smith, a notable prating Fellow, who was willing to do something to be talked of; the other was *Thomas Flammock*, a Lawyer; the latter made a Speech to the People, wherein he informed them, ‘ That Subsidies were not to be granted or levied in this Case, for that the Law had provided another Course; and as the *Scotch* War was ended, it was only a Pretence to pillage the People; therefore he advised them to prefer a Petition to the King to forbear exacting the Subsidy, and punish those who had given him that Counsel.’ Their Aim was at Archbishop *Morton* and Sir *Reginald Bray*, because they were generally esteemed the King’s Instruments in Matters of this Nature.

The *Cornish* Men, one and all, approved of *Flammock*’s Speech, and offered to chuse the Lawyer and the

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the Blacksmith for their Leaders, which they accepted of.

They soon formed themselves into an Army, and marched out of *Cornwal* under the Command of these two Champions into *Devonshire*, and from thence into *Somerſetſhire*, without doing any Injury to their Fellow-subjects ; at first contenting themselves with declaring where-ever they came, that the Subsidy was an unjust Imposition on the People ; but when they came to *Taunton* they killed in a Fury an officious and eager Commissioner for the Subsidy ; then they proceeded to *Wells*, where the Lord *Audley*, a discontented Nobleman, came and joined them, and was immediately accepted as their General ; who led them directly to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, where they expected to have great Aid, *Flammock* having told them, that the *Kentishmen* were fond of Liberty : However, they were greatly disappointed ; for instead of Aid, they found the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, and others in Arms, ready to give them a warm Reception, nor did one Man offer to take Arms in their Favour.

The cold Treatment they met with in that Quarter, discouraged many of the Rebels, who, foreseeing that their Enterprize would not be successful, returned quietly to their Homes ; but those that remained being encouraged by the King's Remissness, who had suffered them to proceed so far unmolested, boasted they would give him Battle, or take *London* before his Face ; in which Resolution they went and encamped at *Black-heath*.

The King was under some Consternation, when he heard of the Progress the Rebels had made ; a War with *Scotland*, a Pretender ready to enter his Kingdom, and these Rebels so near him, were three Affairs of vast Importance, especially as they came upon him at once. Happily for him this Rebellion happened

ed at a Time when he had an Army on Foot; for upon receiving the News of the Proceedings of the *Cornishmen*, he sent after the Earl of *Surry*, with Orders for his Forces to return and keep about *London*, contenting himself with only sending a small Part of them, under the Earl's Command, to the Borders of *Scotland*.

James of Scotland, hearing of what passed in *England*, again invaded the Frontiers, and foraged the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and at last besieged the Castle of *Norham*, whereof *Richard Fox* then Bishop of *Durham* was Owner. But as soon as the Earl of *Surry* arrived in those Parts (who so far encreased his Army in his March, that he got together little less than 20,000 Men) he not only forced the *Scotch* to raise the Siege of *Norham* Castle, but pursued them into *Scotland*, and, following their Example, his Men plundered and destroyed all before them.

In the mean time the King exerted himself against the Rebels; and the City of *London* was not wanting on her Part to oppose them. *Tate*, the Lord Mayor, *Shaw* and *Huddon*, the Sheriffs, and the other Magistrates put the City into a Posture of Defence, and the Citizens in general armed themselves, in order to prevent a Surprise; and at the same time the Rebels prepared for Battle.

As soon as his Majesty was informed how they were situated, he sent the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*, with some Part of the Army, against the Rebels, in hopes to surround them; then he set forward himself, and encamped in *St. George's Fields*; and, that the Rebels might have the less Suspicion, the King caused it to be reported in the Army, that he would not fight till the *Monday* following; but on *Saturday*, which of all Days of the Week the King fancied to be the most fortunate to him, he directed the Lord *Dawbeney* to set upon them; which Orders

ders he so well executed, that, tho' the Rebels received the first Attack with great Resolution, two thousand of them were slain, and the rest forced to surrender at Discretion, there being no Way to escape. Among the Prisoners were the Lord *Audley* their General, and their two Seducers the Lawyer and the Blacksmith, who basely suffered themselves to be taken alive. Three thousand of the King's side were slain, and mostly by Arrows; for the *Cornishmen* used very strong Bows, and Arrows of a Yard long.

A compleat Victory being thus obtained, the King created divers Bannerets, as well on *Black-beath* as in *St. George's Fields*, and gave all the Goods of the Prisoners to those that had taken them, either to have them in kind, or by Composition. The Lord *Audley* was for the present sent to *Newgate*, from whence he was ignominiously led to *Tower-hill* in a Paper Coat, torn and painted, with his own Arms reversed, and there beheaded; the Lawyer and Blacksmith were drawn to *Tyburn*, hanged and quartered.

It was very remarkable, *Joseph* the Blacksmith cheered up himself at his Execution, saying, *He hoped by this Exploit to make his Memory immortal*; so dear it is to vulgar Minds to perpetuate their Names, tho' even by infamous Actions. The King gave the rest of the Prisoners to the Captors, with leave to compound with them as they should judge fit; most of which purchased their Liberty, and returned home.

'It is not unlikely, observes *Rapin*, that the Moderation of the Rebels, in their March from *Cornwal* to *London*, tempered the King's Severity, especially as they had not asserted the Title of the House of *York*, a Crime he never forgave.' Thus an End was put to the fourth Rebellion in *Henry's* Reign.

His *Scottish* Majesty was by this Time greatly tired with his *English* Guests, which put him upon sending an Herald to the Earl of *Surry*, to fight him in a single

Combat, on Condition, that, if the Victory should fall on his Side, he should deliver for his Ransom the Town of *Berwick*. To which the Earl made Answer, ' That the Town of *Berwick* was the King his Master's, and therefore not for him to dispose of: As to ' his Offer of single Combat he willingly accepted of ' it, and should think himself highly honoured by such ' a Match ;' but this Proposal came to nothing ; for the King, on the Return of the Herald, retired to *Edinburgh*, and the Earl to *Berwick*, Hostilities on both Sides ceasing.

Now the several Irruptions began to subside, and *Henry* had Leisure to attend to the Proposals of the *Spanish* Ambassador, *Pedro D'Aila*, a celebrated Man, who had been in *England* sometime. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, his Master and Mistress, had disposed of two of their Daughters in Marriage, and had cast their Eyes upon Prince *Arthur*, the King's eldest Son; for a Husband to *Catherine* their third Daughter, who had been educated with all Care and Tenderness ; so that the Purport of his Embassy was to negotiate as well a Treaty of perpetual Peace and Amity between the two Nations, as this Match, and he succeeded in both. ' The first Part of the ' Treaty was a reciprocal Engagement between the ' Kings of *England* and *Spain*, of mutual Assistance ' on all Occasions ; and was thus far particular, for ' that it extended not to all the Kings of *England* and ' *Spain*, but only to all Successors descending from ' them. In the other Part, the Marriage between ' Prince *Arthur* and the Princess *Catherine* was confirmed.'

D'Aila, by his Negotiations in *England*, had acquired very great Reputation, and was much esteemed by our Sovereign ; and, as he knew the King would gladly settle Matters with *Scotland*, in an amicable Way, he obtained Liberty to go into that Country, with no other View than to endeavour to make

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Peace between the two Crowns. On his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, he so dextrously conducted himself, that he persuaded King *James* to hearken to Peace* ; and, having thus disposed that Prince, he wrote to King *Henry* to send some discreet Man on his Part, withal assuring his Majesty, that there was a fair Prospect of terminating the Difference between the two Kingdoms. *Fox*, Bishop of *Durham*, was entrusted with this Commission ; and as soon as he arrived in *Scotland* the Conferences were opened.

The Bishop first demanded, that *Perkin* should be delivered up to the King his Master, observing, at the same time, ‘ That a Prince should not easily believe
‘ with the common People ; that *Perkin* was a Fiction ;
‘ and such a one, that, if a Poet had projected the
‘ Figure, it could not have been done more to Ad-
‘ miration :

* Upon this Occasion the Chronicle Writer of *Perkin's* Life opens a Scene, with introducing the Youth and his chief Adviser, *Frion*, where *Warbeck* expresses his Uneasiness in the following Words :

Warb. *Frion*, O *Frion* ! all my Hopes of Glory
Are at a stand ! the *Scottish* King grows dull,
Frothy and wayward, since this *Spanish* Agent
Hath mix'd Discourses with him ; they are private,
I am not call'd to Counsel now ; Confusion
On all his crafty Shruggs ; I feel the Fabrick
Of my Designs are tottering,

Frion. *Henry's* Policies
Stir with too many Engines.

Warb. Let his Mines,
Shap'd in the Bowels of the Earth, blow up
Works rais'd for my Defence, yet can they never
Toss into Air the Freedom of my Birth,
Or disavow my Blood, *Plantagenetts* !
I am my Father's Son still ; but, O *Frion*,
When I bring into count with my Disasters,
My Wife's Copartnership, my *Kate's*, my Life's ;
Then, then, my Frailty feels an Earthquake ; Mischief
Damn *Henry's* Plots, I will be *England's* King,
Or let my Aunt of *Burgundy* report
My Fall in the Attempt, deserv'd our Ancestors ?

‘ miration : That the House of *York*, by the old
 ‘ Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, Siſter to *Edward* the IVth,
 ‘ having firſt raiſed *Lambert Simnell*, and at laſt this
 ‘ *Warbeck* to perſonate Kings, and ſeduce the People ;
 ‘ his Birth, Education, Non-reſidence in any one
 ‘ Place, proved him a Pageant King ; that he was a
 ‘ Reproach to all Princes, and a Perſon not protected
 ‘ by the Laws of Nations.’ To this the Biſhop of
Glaſgow answered for his Maſter, ‘ That the Love and
 ‘ Amity grounded upon a Common Cauſe, and uni-
 ‘ verſal Concluſion among Kings to defend one ano-
 ‘ ther, was the main Foundation on which King *James*
 ‘ had adventured to aſſiſt *Edward* Duke of *York* ; that
 ‘ he was no competent Judge of his Title ; he had
 ‘ received him as a Suppliant, protected him as a
 ‘ Perſon fled for Refuge, eſpouſed him with his Kinf-
 ‘ woman, and aided him with Arms, on the Belief
 ‘ that he was a Prince ; that the People of *Ireland*,
 ‘ *Wales*, and many in *England*, acknowledged him no
 ‘ leſs than their King ; whether he was ſo or not, ſith
 ‘ for a Prince he had hitherto defended him, he
 ‘ could not leave him upon the Relation of his moſt
 ‘ terrible Enemy, and the preſent Poſſeſſor of his
 ‘ Crown ; that no Prince was bound to render a Sub-
 ‘ ject to another, who had come to him for Sanctu-
 ‘ ary, much leſs a Prince who had recourſe to him
 ‘ for Aid and Supply, and was now allied with the
 ‘ antient Blood of the Country.’

Fox on this gave up his firſt Demand, and pro-
 ceeded next to require Satisfaction for the Loſſes
 ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* from the *Scotch* in their dif-
 ferent Excuſions into *England* ; in Answer to which,
 he was told, ‘ That the Plunder was already diſperſed
 ‘ among the Soldiers, and therefore not to be got
 ‘ back ;’ and, as to a pecuniary Reſtitution, he was
 alſo given to underſtand, ‘ That it was much eaſi-
 ‘ er for *Henry* to bear the Loſs, than for *James* to
 ‘ pay it.’

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The Bishop, finding that nothing was to be got back, as both Parties wished for Peace, the great Difficulty was how to bring it about, several Bars at that Time seeming to be in the Way. At last a Truce was propos'd by the *Spanish* Ambassador, which was agreed to on both Sides; and *James* undertook on his Part to dismiss *Perkin* out of *Scotland*.

The Truce being settled, King *James* sent for *Perkin*, and informed him, that, according to his Promise, he had done what lay in his Power to serve him, but that the present State of his Affairs required he should retire out of his Kingdom *.

Perkin,

* The Author, we have last quoted from, relates this Negotiation, and King *James's* Dismissing *Perkin* out of his Kingdom, in the following Scenes :

Enter King James, Bishop of Durham, and D'Aila on either side,

D'Aila. France, Spain, and Germany combine a League Of Amity with *England*; nothing wants For settling Peace through Christendom, but Love Between the *British* Monarchs, *James* and *Henry*.

Dur. The *English* Merchants (Sir) have been receiv'd With general Procession into *Antwerp*; The Emperor confirms the Combination.

D'Aila. The King of *Spain* resolves a Marriage, For *Katherine* his Daughter, with Prince *Arthur*.

Dur. France courts this holy Contract.

D'Aila. What can hinder a Quietness in *England*—?

Dur. But your Suffrage To such a silly Creature (mighty Sir!) As is but in effect an Apparition, A shadow, a meer Trifle?

D'Aila. To this Union The Good of both the Church and Common-wealth Invite 'ee—

Dur. To this Unity, a Mystery Of Providence points out a greater Blessing For both these Nations, than our human Reason Can search into; King *Henry* hath a Daughter, The Princess *Margaret*: I need not urge What Honour, what Felicity can follow On such Affinity 'twixt two Christian Kings,

Inleagu'd

Perkin, casting all his bad Success on the Averseness of Fortune, assured the King he would never be unmindful of his Favours, and so embarked himself, together with his Wife, and such whose desperate Condition had compelled them to follow him, in three Ships, (which *James* gave him) and sailed into *Ireland*, where we shall for the present leave him. In short, he was no sooner gone, but the Truce was signed for seven Years.

Henry,

Inleagu'd by Tyes of Blood ; but, sure I am,
If you, Sir, ratify the Peace propos'd,
I dare both motion, and effect this Marriage
For Weale of both the Kingdoms.

K. J. Darst thou, Lord Bishop ?

Dur. Put it to tryal, Royal *James*, by sending
Some noble Personage to the *English* Court,
By way of Embassy.

D'Aila. Part of the Business
Shall suit my Meditation.

K. J. Well ! what Heav'n
Hath pointed out to be, must be ; you two
Are Ministers (I hope) of blessed Fate.
But herein only I will stand acquitted,
No Blood of Innocents shall buy my Peace.
For *Warbeck*, as you *nick* him, came to me,
Commended by the States of Christendom.
A Prince, tho' in Distress ; his fair Demeanor,
Lovely Behaviour, unappalled Spirit,
Spoke him *not base in Blood*, however clouded.
The brute Beasts have both Rocks and Caves to fly to,
And Men the Altars of the Church ; to us
He came for Refuge, ' Kings come near in Nature
' Unto the Gods, in being touch'd with Pity.'
Yet (noble Friends) his Mixture with our Blood,
Even with our own, shall no way interrupt
A general Peace ; only I will dismiss him
From my Protection, throughout my Dominions
In Safety, but not ever, to return.

D'Aila. You are a just King.

Dur. Wise, and herein happy.

K. J. Nor will we dally in Affairs of Weight :
Huntsley (Lord Bishop) shall with you to *England*
Ambassador from us ; we will throw down
Our Weapons ; Peace on all sides now, repair

Unto

Henry, at the Entrance of this Year, had nothing to fear from Abroad, but it was not the same in respect to his own Subjects; for, before he could acquire that Tranquillity he so earnestly longed for, he had a fresh Attack from the *Cornishmen* to guard against.

All this while the Rebellion in *Cornwall*, whereof we have been speaking, was no way fermented by *Perkin*, save that his Proclamation had touch'd the right Vein,

Unto our Council, we will soon be with you.

D'Aila. Delay shall question no Dispatch,
Heaven crown it.

[*Exeunt Durham and D'Aila.*

K. J. A League with *Ferdinand*! a Marriage
With *English Margaret*! a free Release
From Restitution for the late Affronts!
Cessation from Hostility! and all
For *Warbeck* not delivered, but dismiss!
We could not wish it better, *Daniel*—

Dal. Here, Sir.

[*Enter Daniel.*

K. J. Are *Huntley* and his Daughters sent for?

Dal. Sent for, and come (my Lord.)

K. J. Say to the *English Prince*,
We want his Company.

Dal. He is at hand, Sir.

Enter Warbeck, Katherine, Jane, Frion, Heron, Sketon, Major, Astley.

K. J. Cousin, our Bounty, Favours, Gentleness,
Our Benefits, the Hazard of our Person,
Our People's Lives, our Land hath evidenc'd
How much we have engag'd on your Behalf:
How trivial, and how dangerous our Hopes
Appear, how fruitless our Attempts in War,
How windy, rather smoky, your Assurance
Of Party-shews, we might in vain repeat!
But now Obedience to the Mother Church,
A Father's Care upon his Country's Weal,
The Dignity of State directs our Wisdom,
To seal an Oath of Peace through Christendom:
To which we are sworn already; 'tis *you*
Must only seek new Fortunes in the World,

And

Vein, by promising to lay down all Exactions and Payments.

It afterwards appeared, that the King's Lenity to the *Cornishmen* had rather emboldened than reclaimed them; for that, when taken Prisoners at *Blackbeath*, they with the utmost Vehemence cried out, *We are sold at Twelve-pence and two Shillings a-head*: And, when they got home, they told their Neighbours and Countrymen, ' That the King did well to pardon ' them, knowing he should leave but few Subjects in ' *England*, if he hang'd all that were of their Minds ;' and therefore they begun to whet up one another to renew the Commotion.

Warbeck

And find an Harbour elsewhere: As I promis'd
On your Arrival, you have met no Usage
Deserves Repentance in your being here:
But yet I must live Master of mine own.
However, what is necessary for you
At your Departure, I am well content
You be accommodated with; provided
Delay prove not my Enemy.

Warb. It shall not,
(Most glorious Prince!) The Fame of my Designs
Soars higher than Report of Ease and Sloath
Can aim at; I acknowledge all your Favours
Boundless, and singular, am only wretched
In Words as well as Means, to thank the Grace
That flow'd so liberally. *Two Empires* firmly
You're Lord of, *Scotland* and Duke *Richard's* Heart.
My claim to *mine Inheritance* shall sooner
Fail, than my Life to serve you, best of Kings!
And witness *EDWARD's Blood in me*, I am
More loath to part, with such a great Example
Of Virtue, than all other meer Respects.
But, Sir, my last Suit is, you will not force
From me what you have given, this chaste Lady,
Resolv'd on all Extremes.

Kat. I am your Wife,
No humane Power can or shall divorce
My Faith from Duty.

Warb. Such another Treasure
The Earth is Banckrout of.

K. J. I gave her (Cousin)
And must avow the Gift; will add withal

Warbeck was now without any Refuge in *Ireland* ;
and some of the subtlest among the *Cornishmen* be-
thought

A Furniture becoming her high Birth
And unsuspected Constancy : Provide
For your Attendance—we will part good Friends.

[*Ex. King and Dalziel.*]

Warb. The *Tudor* hath been cunning in his Plots :
His *Fox* of *Durham* would not fail at last.
But what ! our Cause and Courage are our own :
Be Men (my Friends) and let our Cousin King
See how we follow Fate as willingly
As Malice follows us. Y'are all resolv'd
For the West Parts of *England* ?

Omnes. *Cornwal ! Cornwal !*

Frion. The Inhabitants expect you daily.

Warb. Chearfully

Draw all our Ships out of the Harbour (Friends)
Our Time of Stay doth seem too long, we must
Prevent Intelligence ; about it suddenly.

Omnes. A Prince ! a Prince ! a Prince !

[*Ex. Counsellors.*]

Warb. Dearest ; admit not into thy pure Thoughts
The least of Scruples, which may charge their Softness
With burthen of Distrust. Should I prove wanting
To noblest Courage now, here were the Tryal :
But I am perfect (sweet) I fear no Change,
More than thy being Partner in my Sufferance.

Kat. My Fortunes (Sir) have arm'd me to encounter
What Chance so e'er they meet with.—*Jane*, 'tis fit
Thou stay behind, for whither wilt thou wander ?

Jane. Never till Death will I forsake my Mistress,
Nor then, in wishing to die with thee gladly.

Kat. Alas ! good Soul.

Frion. Sir, to your Aunt of *Burgundy*
I will relate your present Undertakings ;
From her expect, on all Occasions, Welcome.

Warb. Go, *Frion*, go ! wife Men know how to sooth
Adversity, not serve it ; thou hast waited
Too long on Expectation ; ' never yet
' Was any Nation read of, so besotted
' In Reason, as to adore the setting Sun.'
Fly to the Arch-duke's Court ; say to the Dutchess,
Her Nephew, with fair *Katherine*, his Wife
Are on their Expectation to begin
The raising of an Empire. If they fail,
Yet the Report will never : Farewel, *Frion*.

[*Ex. Warbeck and Frion.*]

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thought themselves of *Perkin*, and agreed to put him at their Head; whereupon they sent proper Persons to let him know, that, if he would come over, they would hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the advancing his Pretensions to the Crown.

This Invitation *Warbeck* readily embraced, set out for *England* about the latter End of *June*, and soon after landed in *Cornwall* †, where he was received by the Rebels with great Applause; three thousand *Cornishmen* presented themselves before him on his Arrival, all armed, in the Town of *Badmin*; from whence he issued out a Proclamation under the Name of *Richard* the IVth King of *England*; in which he was very free of his Reproaches and Invectives against the King and his Government, nor did he forget to make large Promises to such as should take Arms to destroy the Usurper, as he was pleased to call *Henry*.

After the Publishing of this Proclamation, he held a Council, the Principal of which were *Stephen Frion*, *John Heron*, a Bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Sketon*, a Taylor, and *John Astley*, a Scrivener. It was there determined, that they should first attempt the Winning of *Exeter*, which was presently put in Execution. *Perkin* with great Violence assaulting the City, and the Citizens with as much Resolution defending it. When his Majesty heard what he was at, he merrily said, *That the King of Rake-bells was landed in the West, and that he hoped now to have the Honour of seeing him, which he never yet could do, and seemed much rejoiced at the News of his being in Eng-*

T

land,

† The Author, we have before extracted from, describes *Perkin's* Arrival in *England*, and his Proceeding to *Exeter*, in the following Scene.

Enter Warbeck, Dalziel, Katherine, and Jane.

Warb. After so many Storms as Wind and Seas
Have threatened to our Weather-beaten Ships,

land, hoping that he should get him into his Custody, and thereby cure himself of those private Stitches which had long dwelt about his Heart, and broke his Sleep in the Midst of all his Felicity.

For the present the King sent the Lord *Dawbeney* with some Forces to assist the Citizens of *Exeter*; but, before he arrived, the Earl of *Devonshire* his Son, and other Noblemen came to their Aid, on which *Perkin* quitted the Siege, and retired to *Taunton*, where he mustered his Men, as if he meant to prepare for Battle; where finding his Number much diminished, (for, of 6000 which he had at *Exeter*, many were fled, seeing

At last (sweet Fairest) we are safe arriv'd
On our dear Mother Earth, ingrateful only
To Heaven and us, in yielding Sustenance
To fly *Usurpers of our Throne and Right*.
These general Acclamations are an OMEN
Of happy Process in their welcome Lord:
They flock in Troops, and from all Parts with Wings
Of Duty fly, to lay their Hearts before us.
Unequall'd Pattern of a matchless Wife!
How fares my dearest yet?

Kath. Confirm'd in Health:
By which I may the better undergo
The roughest Face of Change; but I shall learn
Patience to hope, since Silence courts Affliction
For Comforts, to this truly *noble Gentleman*;
Rare, unexampled Pattern of a Friend!
And my beloved *Jane*, the willing Follower
Of all Misfortunes.

Dal. Lady, I return
But barren Crops of early Protections,
Frost-bitten in the Spring of fruitless Hopes.

Jane. I wait but as the Shadow of the Body:
For, Madam, without you let me be nothing.

Warb. None talk of Sadness, we are on the Way
Which leads to Victory: Keep Cowards Thoughts
With desperate Sullenness! the Lion faints not
Lock'd in a Grate, but loose disdains all Force
Which bars his Prey; and we are Lyon-hearted,
Or else no King of Beasts. Hark how they shout. [*Another Shout.*
Triumphant in our Cause! Bold Confidence
Marches on bravely, cannot quake at Danger.

Enter

immediately submitted to the King's Mercy, who pardoned them, except a few Ring-leaders, whom he caused to be hanged for an Example: And thus the King put an End to the fifth Rebellion since his Accession to the Throne.

His Majesty, hearing that *Perkin* had taken Sanctuary, paid such Respect to the Place, that he ordered his Troops not to use Violence in taking him out, causing only a sufficient Guard to be placed about the House, to prevent his Escape.

Then the King sent a Detachment of Horse to *St. Michael's Mount* to bring away his Wife, who had retired thither, lest, if she was with Child and escaped, the Business might not end in the Person of her Spouse. This virtuous Lady, who loved her Husband entirely, tho' unworthy of her, gained so much his Majesty's Favour by her Modesty, that he gave her a very gracious Reception; had her conducted to the Queen, and assigned her an honourable Allowance, which she enjoyed many Years after his Decease: She was called the *White Rose*, as well on the Account of her Beauty, as of the Name given by the Dutchess of *Burgundy* to her Husband.

Perkin being thus in a Place from whence he could not escape, *Henry*, to enquire more closely into the Cause and Origin of the Rebellion, proceeded to *Exeter*, and made a joyful Entry into that City, and gave the Townsmen great Commendations and Thanks for the Services they had done; and, taking the Sword from his Side, he gave it to the Mayor, commanding, that it should be for ever after carried before him and his Successors, as a lasting Signal of their great Zeal and Loyalty towards him. He also gave to the Mayor a Cap of Maintenance, to be worn and carried in State before him and his Successors for ever, as usual in the City of *London*; and, for the further Dignity of this ancient City,

City, it was ordered, ' That all future Mayors should
' have their Scarlet Gowns and Cloaks lined with
' Sarsenet, and every Receiver-general to have his of
' Crimfon in Grain, and every one of the four and
' twenty to have their Gowns of Violet or Murrey
' Colour in Grain.' These were not the only Favours
he granted them; for he regulated the Method of E-
lecting the Mayor and Officers of the City, and deli-
vered the same engrossed on Parchment under his
Privy-seal, which hath ever since been duly observed.

During his Majesty's Stay there, he advised with
his Council what should be done with *Warbeck*, who
was still in Sanctuary: Some were for forcing him
thence, and punishing him with Death; but others
were of Opinion, that the King ought carefully to
avoid being deemed a Violator of Sanctuaries. One
of the Council in particular telling him ' That he
' would never satisfy the People that *Perkin* was a
' Counterfeit, except he freely undeceived those who
' were seduced by his Artifices; that the best Me-
' thod to engage the Impostor to make an open
' Confession, was to grant him a Pardon.' This Ad-
vice he followed, and it had the desired Effect.

On his Enlargement he was strictly examined, when
he made an ample Confession both of his being an
Impostor, and of his Aiders and Abettors: By which
Means his Majesty became fully acquainted with the
Steps taken by the Dutchess of *Burgundy* to impose
this Pretender on the Nation, several Particulars of
which till then he was a Stranger to.

The King ordered *Perkin* to be brought to Court,
then kept at *Exeter*, as if intirely at Liberty, but
was closely attended by several Persons, command-
ed to guard him, lest he should escape. During the
Time he was there, every Body was permitted to talk
with him. He earnestly begged the King's Leave,
that he might throw himself at his Majesty's Feet,
which

which was denied; tho' *Henry*, to satisfy his own Curiosity, saw him, without being seen.

From *Exeter* he was conducted to *London* in safe Custody, suffering, by the Way, all kind of opprobrious Language, which he bore with great Resolution and Magnanimity; nor did he ever act the Prince better than on this Occasion, neither affecting too much Insensibility, nor shewing too great a Dejection.

Being come to *London*, he was made to ride twice thro' the City, that People might have Time and Opportunity to view him well, accompanied by one of his chief Confidants, that had been Farrier to the King's Stables, (who, rather than take Sanctuary with him in *Bewley*, had chose to wander about in a Hermit's Dress; but, for all his Disguise, was taken) and, after the disgraceful Procession, was bound Hand and Foot, carried directly to *Tyburn*, and there hanged and quartered.

When *Perkin* had undergone different Examinations, the King ordered him to be set in the Stocks, on Scaffolds built for that Purpose in different Parts of the City, where he read his Confession, and then was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, where the Earl of *Warwick* still remained.

This Rebellion, tho' suppressed with some Difficulty, answered the End of *Henry's* Avarice; for, as soon as *Perkin* and his Adherents were defeated, he appointed Commissioners to make strict Enquiry after the Offenders, raising Money out of their Estates by Fines. These Commissioners were Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and *Robert Sberbon*, Dean of *St. Paul's*; who acted with so much Severity, that it became a Saying, *They obscured the King's Mercy, tho' the Blood of his Subjects was spared.*

Whilst *Warbeck* was Prisoner¹⁴ in the *Tower*, his Confession as well as private Examinations were printed and

and published ; but this served the King's Purpose but little, it being only a laboured Account of *Perkin's* Father, Mother, and Kindred ; but not a Word mentioned of the secret Practices of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* on his Behalf ; tho' all the World knew who was the Perſon that gave Life and Motion to the whole Intrigue ; ſo that People miſſing what they principally looked for, were in more Doubt than before ; but *Henry* did not matter that, he chuſing rather to let them remain diſſatisfied than embroil his Government, by kindling Coals that would not be eaſily extinguished.

This Year opened with an Event that at firſt ſeemed very inconfiderable, but produced a 1499. great and happy Effect. As there was a Truce between *England* and *Scotland*, ſome *Scotch* young Gentlemen came to *Norham* to divert themſelves with the People of the Town, and, having little elſe to do, went ſeveral times to view the Caſtle ; on which the Garriſon ſuſpected they came with an ill Deſign, and, taking them for Spies, deſired them to depart ; but, the Gentlemen not regarding the Soldiers, a Quarrel enſued ; from Words they fell to Blows, and in the Skirmiſh ſome of the *Scotch* were killed. This ſo incenſed *James*, that he ſent a Herald into *England* to demand Satisfaction for the Injury done his Subjects. Biſhop *Fox*, being informed of this Matter, was much troubled that the Cauſe of Complaint aroſe from the Miſconduct of his Men, and wrote ſeveral ſubmiſſive Letters to the *Scotch* King in their Behalf. Theſe Letters were well received ; he was deſired by *James* to come to him in Perſon, not doubting but they ſhould put a final End to that Affair, which might be the Means of bringing other Matters about for the Welfare of both Kingdoms.

The Biſhop ſoon obtained the King's Leave to go into *Scotland* ; and on his Arrival he was introduced to King *James*, who at firſt ſharply reprimanded him for the Offence of the Soldiers : To which he made ſuch

such a smooth, humble, and pacifick Answer, that both the King and his Council readily accepted of his Apology, and dismissed the Complaint. His Majesty afterwards conferred with him in private, to whom he discovered his Mind, telling him, that, if King *Henry* would give him the Lady *Margaret*, his eldest Daughter, in Marriage, he thought it would make an indissolvable Union and Friendship between the two Crowns; the Management of which he would leave to his Prudence and Fidelity: And the Bishop replied, 'That he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be employed in an Affair of such Consequence, and would use his best Endeavours to give him Satisfaction.'

At his Return to *England*, he repaired to Court, opened the Matter to his Master, and, finding him ready to close with the Proposition, he advised him first to turn the Truce into a Treaty of Peace, and then proceed to the Marriage. His Advice was approved of, and soon after a Treaty was concluded, whereby both Princes agreed Peace should continue between the two Kingdoms during their Lives. In this Treaty there was an Article, that no *Englishman* should enter into *Scotland*, nor no *Scotchman* into *England*, without Letters Commendatory from their respective Kings.

Warbeck was now confined in the *Tower*, and little Mention made of him; but, as he had been accustomed to live like a Prince, his Confinement became very irksome to him, which put him on endeavouring to escape, and, with some Difficulty, he found Means so to do; and immediately took the *Kentish* Road with a Design to quit the Kingdom: But hearing by the way, that Orders were sent out to apprehend him, he took Refuge in the Monastery of *Bethlehem*, where he discovered himself to the Prior, and begged him to intercede for him. It was difficult for the Prior
to

to protect such a Person ; yet he did not care to let him go elsewhere, or violate the Privilege of the House, in delivering him up. The Prior waited on the King, and acquainted him that *Perkin* was in his Hands, and petitioned for his Life.

Many advised his Majesty to take him out by Force, and put him to Death ; but the King, who had too great a Spirit to hate any that he despised, only said, *Take out the Knave, and set him in the Stocks.*

In short, *Henry* granted *Perkin* his Life, whereupon he was instantly delivered up. Two Days after his coming to *London*, he was set upon a Scaffold, erected in the Palace-court at *Westminster*, where he was fettered, and put in the Stocks for the whole Day ; the following Day he was served in the same Manner at the *Cross* in *Cheapside* ; and then a second Time put into the *Tower* ; where he had not been long, before he again began to plot Mischief. In a short time he grew intimate with four of his Keepers, who were Servants to Sir *John Digby*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and, making them believe he was the true Duke of *York*, he so far prevailed with them, that they promised to assist him in his Escape ; and at the same time persuaded the Earl of *Warwick* to fly with him. But this Conspiracy was revealed before it was executed, which gave Countenance to the King's sending both *Perkin* and the true Earl of *Warwick* out of the World. *

Perkin was tried by a special Commission, and condemned to die with *John a Waters*, some time Mayor of *Cork*, one of *Perkin*'s chief Advisers ; and accordingly

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* The Author concludes his Account of *Perkin* with the two following Scenes :

Enter Constable and Officers, Warbeck, Urswick, and Lambert Simnell, like a Falconer. A Pair of Stocks.

Const. Make Room there ! Keep off, I require thee ; and none come within twelve Foot of his Majesty's new Stocks, upon Pain of Displeasure.

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ingly they were both drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged on the 23d of *November*.

Thus fell this famous Impostor, after he had been acknowledged lawful King of *England in Ireland, France, Flanders, England and Scotland*, and had perplexed King *Henry* by Intervals for the Space of six Years, one of the longest Plays of that kind that ever was known, and might perhaps have had a different Event, if he had not opposed a King wealthy, wife, valiant, and fortunate.

Henry, having got rid of *Perkin*, began now seriously to consider the different Troubles he had met with, as well from Pretenders as the real Heirs of the House of *York*; and, as he had got one of that Family in his Power, he was resolved to take him off too, thereby to free himself at once, as he thought, from all further Uneasiness. Therefore, *November* the 26th, he caused the Earl to be brought to his Trial, before the

Displeasure. Bring forward the Malefactors! Friend, you must to this Geere:—No Remedy;—Open the Hole, and in with his Legs, just in the middle Hole; there, that Hole; keep off, or I'll commit you all! Shall not a Man in Authority be obeyed? So, so, there; 'tis as it should be: Put on the Padlock, and give me the Key; Off! I say; keep off!

Ursaw. Yet, *Warbeck*, clear thy Conscience; thou hast tasted King *Henry's* Mercy liberally; the Law Has forfeited thy Life, an equal Jury Have doom'd thee to the Gallows twice; most wickedly, Most desperately hast thou escaped the Tower; Inveigling to thy Party, with thy Witchcraft, Young *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, Son of *Clarence*, Whose Head must pay the Price of that Attempt. Poor Gentleman!—unhappy in his Fate!—And ruin'd by thy Cunning! So a Mungrel May pluck the true Stag down; yet, yet confess Thy Parentage; for yet the King has Mercy.

Lamb. You would be *Dick the Fourth*, very likely! Your Pedigree is publish'd, you are known For *Osbek's* Son of *Turney*, a loose Runnagate, A Landloper; your Father was a *Jew*, Turn'd Christian meerly to repair his Miseries. Where's now your Kingship?

the House of Lords, for High Treason, (the Earl of *Oxford* exercising by Commission the Office of High Steward) for conspiring the King's Death jointly with *Perkin*; the unhappy Youth, having confessed, that he gave his Consent to the Project, laid by *Perkin* and *Digby's* Servants, to escape, was found guilty, and on the 28th was beheaded on *Tower Hill*.

This Prince was the last Male Heir of the House of *York*, being Son to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the IVth; which there is Reason to think was the only Cause of his being cut off, *Henry* chusing rather to sacrifice his own Reputation, than be disappointed in securing the Crown both to himself and his Heirs.

To lessen, in some measure, People's Horror at his Cruelty, the King caused to be published, ' That *Ferdinand* had positively declared, he would never ' consent to marry his Daughter *Catherine* to Prince

U 2

' *Arthur*,

I would be Earl of *Warwick*, toil'd and ruffled
Against my Master, leap'd to catch the Moon,
Vaunted my Name, *Plantagenet*, as you do;
An Earl, forsooth! When as, in truth, I was,
As you are, a meer Rascal: Yet his Majesty
(A Prince compos'd of Sweetness, Heaven protect him!)
Forgave me all my Villanies, repriev'd
The Sentence of a shameful End, admitted
My Surety of Obedience to his Service;
And I am now his Falkoner, live plenteously,
Eat from the King's Purse, and enjoy the Sweetness
Of Liberty, and Favour, sleep securely;
And is not this now better than so buffet
The Hangman's Clutches? or to brave the Cordage
Of a tough Halter, which will break your Neck?
So then the Gallant totters; prythee (*Perkin*)
Let my Example lead thee, be no longer
A Counterfeit, confess, and hope for Pardon!

Warb. For Pardon! Hold my Heart-strings, whilst Contempt
Of Injuries in Scorn may bid Defiance
To this base Man's foul Language! Thou poor Vermin!
How dar'st thou creep so near me? thou an Earl!
Why, thou enjoyest as much of Happiness,
As all the Swing of slight Ambition flew at.

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'*Arthur*, so long as the Earl of *Warwick* was alive.' Strange sort of Apology this! as if a Marriage with the Princess of *Spain* was so necessary for *England*, that it must be purchased with Blood; but if it was not requisite for the State, it was very beneficial for the King, who was to receive 200,000 Crowns of Gold for *Catherine's* Dowry, which alone would have induced him to sacrifice the Earl of *Warwick*; and on the like Motive he beheaded the Lord Chamberlain; but many were of Opinion, that what *Henry* published, concerning King *Ferdinand*, was only a Pretence, since *Arthur's* Marriage with *Catherine* by Proxy was solemnized the 19th of *May* this very Year, before the Earl of *Warwick's* Death. On *Henry* the VIIIth's divorcing *Catherine*, she said, *That she had not offended, but it was a Judgment of God; for that her former Marriage was made in Blood.*

Warbeck

A Dunghill was thy Cradle. So a Puddle,
By Virtue of the Sun-beams, breathes a Vapour
To infect the purer Air, which drops again
Into the muddy Womb from whence it first exhal'd.
Bread, and a slavish Ease, with some Assurance
From the base Beadle's Whip, crown'd all thy Hopes.
But (Sirrah!) ran there in thy Veins, one Drop
Of such a Royal Blood as flows in mine;
Thou would'st not change Condition, to be *second*
In *England's* State without the Crown itself!
Course Creatures are incapable of Excellence.
But let the World, as all to whom I am
This Day a Spectacle, to Time deliver,
And by Tradition fix Posterity
Without another Chronicle than *Truth*,
How constantly my Resolution suffer'd
A Martyrdom of Majesty!

Lamb. He's past

Recovery, a *Bedlam* cannot cure him!

Ursu. Away, inform the King of his Behaviour.

Lamb. Perkin, beware the Rope, the Hangman's coming.

SCENE changes.

Enter Oxford, Dawbeney, Huntley; *Sheriff and Officers,* Sketon,
Astley, Heron, and Mayor.

Oxf. Look'ee, behold your Followers appointed
To wait on thee in Death.

Digitized by Google *Warb.*

of CARDINAL WOLSEY. 173

Warbeck being justly executed, and the Earl of *Warwick* butchered, the King next ordered *Blewit* and *Astwood*, two of the Lieutenant of the *Tower's* Servants, to be prosecuted as Traitors, for aiding and abetting *Perkin* and the Earl in their Escape; for which Offence they were convicted, and executed at *Tyburn*.

However,

Warb. Why, Peers of England!
We'll lead them on courageously. I read
A Triumph over Tyranny upon
Their several Foreheads. Faint not in the Moment
Of Victory! Our Ends, and *Warwick's* Head,
Innocent *Warwick's* Head (for we are Prologue
But to his Tragedy) conclude the Wonder
Of *Henry's* Fears; and then the glorious Race
Of fourteen Kings, PLANTAGINETS, determines
In this last Issue Male, Heaven be obey'd.
Impoverish Time of its Amazement, (Friends)
And we will prove as trusty in our Payments,
As prodigal to Nature in our Debts.
Death! Pish, 'tis but a Sound, a Name of Air;
From Bed to Bed, be massacred alive
By some Physicians, for a Month, or two,
In hope of Freedom from a Fever's Torments,
Might stagger Manhood; here the Pain is past,
E're sensibly 'tis felt. Be Men of Spirit!
Spurn Coward Passion! so illustrious Mention
Shall blaze our Names, and stile us KINGS O'ER DEATH.
Danu. Away—Impostor beyond President!
No Chronicle records his Fellow.

[*Ex. all Officers and Prisoners.*]

Hunt. I have
Not Thoughts left, 'tis sufficient in such Cases
Just Laws ought to proceed.

Enter King Henry, Durham.

K. Henry. We are resolv'd:
Your Business (noble Lords) shall find Success,
Such as your King importunes.

Hunt. You are gracious.

K. Henry. *Perkin*, we are inform'd, is arm'd to die;
In that we'll honour him; our Lords shall follow
To see the Execution; and from hence
We gather this fit Use, that publick States,
'As our particular Bodies, taste most Good
'In Health, when purged of corrupted Blood.

[*Exeunt omnes:*]

However, the Death of these different Persons passed not without severe Reflections upon the King; first, that he suffered *Perkin* to escape, that he might have a Pretence to get rid of him; second, that he was kept in the *Tower* as a Bait to ensnare the Earl of *Warwick*, that he might at one Stroke, under the Shew of Justice, destroy both his Enemy and Competitor.

Notwithstanding the King had swept so many off, more Work was cut out for him; for, while *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick* were in the *Tower*, another Pretender was set on Foot by an *Austin* Friar, who had a Scholar named *Ralph Wilford*, a Shoemaker's Son, who the Friar caused to personate the Earl, as lately by good Fortune escaped out of the *Tower*: They went together into *Kent*, where, tho' the Friar found he had but little Credit, he had the Confidence to declare *Ralph* the true Earl of *Warwick* openly in the Pulpit, and desired all good Subjects to assist him; but this Cheat was soon discovered, the Friar and *Ralph* were apprehended, and soon after tried and convicted. Poor *Ralph* was hanged on *Sbrove Tuesday*, at *St. Thomas a Waterings*, near *Southwark*, in *Surry*; and the Friar was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment; for at that time so much Respect was paid to Holy Orders, that the Life of a Priest, tho' he had committed High Treason, was spared.

Some have offered, in Excuse for his Majesty's severe Proceedings against the Earl of *Warwick*, that these repeated Counterfeits so exasperated the King against him, tho' innocent in himself, that it put him upon finding out a Pretence to bring the Earl to his unhappy End. But neither one Pretence nor the other could ever allay the Censures that justly remained on *Henry*, for putting that unhappy Prince to Death so undeservedly.

The

The King, tho' pestered with these different Impostors and Rebellions, did not forget to promote the Discovery of the new Lands in the *West-Indies*; for which Purpose he granted a Patent to *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, and three of his Sons to go with five Ships under *English* Colours, on these Terms: That, after all Charges deducted, they should give the King a Fifth of the Profits; which they undertook, and engaged to land at *Bristol* at their Return; but it does not appear in History what was made of this Expedition.

Mr. *Wolsey* still continued at *Oxford*, indefatigably employing his Time in Studying and Teaching. But before *Christmas* this Year, the Marquess of *Dorset* was pleased to send for his Sons home, and requested *Wolsey* to attend them, in order to keep that Festival at his Lordship's Seat.

The Marquess received *Wolsey* very kindly, who had not been long with this wise Statesman before he discovered his fine Genius; and his Lordship, upon Examination, finding his Sons were much improved in their Learning far beyond what he expected, he expressed his Satisfaction thereat: And as the Living of *Lymington* in his Gift was vacant, he bestowed it unasked on his Sons Schoolmaster; and, at the same time intimated, that he should be glad on all Occasions to do him Service.

After the Holidays were over, *Wolsey* returned to *Oxford* with his Charge, highly delighted with the kind and generous Treatment he had met with from his Patron, which seemed to prognosticate further Preferment. With which Incident we shall conclude the Year 1499, in respect to the Affairs of *England*.

We left the Emperor in his *German* Dominions, regulating the Government of the different States belonging to the Imperial Crown. After this was effected, he returned into the *Low Countries*, the

Affairs of
Germany,
Flanders,
and Spain,
1495.

Guardianship

Guardianship of which he then resigned to his Son *Philip*, tho' three Years under Age.

During the first Part of the Rebellion raised by *Perkin* and his Adherents, all Correspondence between *England* and *Flanders* had been broke off; *Philip* therefore took this Opportunity of sending Ambassadors to King *Henry*, to notify the taking upon himself the Government of the *Low Countries*, and to solicit the renewing a Treaty of Commerce with *England*. They were graciously received by his Majesty, and found no Difficulty in succeeding in their Commission, it being no less necessary for the *English* than the *Flemings*: And, *February* the 24th, a Treaty in form was concluded at *London*, which proved satisfactory to both Nations.

A Marriage having been proposed between young *Philip*, then eighteen Years old, and the Infanta *Jane*, one of the Daughters of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*. *Maximilian* expressed his Desire of seeing it accomplished, which took place accordingly; and, notwithstanding the Infanta's seeming Distance from the Succession, (the Infant *John*, her elder Brother, who was afterwards married to *Philip's* Sister, and the Infanta *Isabella*, her eldest Sister, Wife to *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, intervening) she unexpectedly, by the Deaths of her Brother, Sister, and their respective Children, at last became sole Heiress of the Kingdom of *Spain*: Thus the Alliance by this Union was no less advantageous to the House of *Austria*, than was that of *Maximilian* to the Heiress of *Burgundy*.

In *October* this Year, the young Lady *Jane* arrived in the *Low Countries*, and soon after was publicly married to *Philip*. The same Ships that brought *Jane* into *Flanders*, carried *Margaret*, *Philip's* Sister, into *Spain*, where her Marriage with Don *John*, King *Ferdinand's* only Son, was consummated.

He

He died in the Flower of his Youth at *Salamanca*, *October 24*, in the 20th Year of his Age, to the unspeakable Grief of his Parents and the whole Kingdom, leaving his Princess with Child, who was afterwards delivered of a still-born Infant. 1496.

This Lady *Margaret* was unfortunate, being in her Infancy contracted to *Charles* King of *France*, which did not take Effect. The Match with Prince *John* proved unhappy, as the very Elements seemed to predict ; for, in her Passage from *Holland* to *Spain*, they met with so furious a Tempest, that several of the Ships perished ; and she was in such Danger, that she tied her Jewels, and an Account of herself in Writing, to her Arms, in order that her Corpse, if it ever should appear, might be known.

But, being left a Widow, she returned to *Flanders*, and was afterwards married to the Duke of *Savoy* ; with whom she had no better Fortune, he likewise dying soon after the Marriage ; upon whose Death she again retired to *Flanders*.

That Country she governed many Years, was a Princess of such fine Parts, that she was intrusted with Negotiations of the greatest Consequence, wherein she so well acquitted herself for the Service of her Royal House, that her Name and Memory, even at this Day, is held in the highest Esteem, both in *Germany* and *Flanders*.

By the Death of Don *John*, his Sister *Isabella*, Widow of *Alphonso*, Prince of *Portugal*, became Heiress of the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon* ; who, after the Death of the Prince her Spouse, had been contracted to *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal* ; which Marriage was so closely pressed, that it was solemnized even before Don *John* expired ; but, poor Lady, she enjoyed not this happy State long ; for she died in Child-bed at *Saragossa*, having been first delivered of

a Prince, named *Michael*, who was proclaimed presumptive Successor of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

Guicciardin, speaking of *Charles* the VIIIth's Expedition into *Italy*, observes, 'That what followed was so much the more displeasing and astonishing in Men's Minds, by how much the universal Estate of *Italy* stood quiet, pleasant, and easy before ; for that, since the *Roman* Empire declined, the Principalities of *Italy* had not tasted of so great and general Prosperity, nor was so happy and well governed as in the Year 1490, being on all sides in Peace and Tranquillity, the Hills and barren Places were tilled, and made no less fruitful than the Vallies ; it flourished with Men of Wit, well versed in all the Arts and Sciences : In a Word, they were distinguished for their Knowledge and Discipline in War, and thereby bore a very great Reputation among the other Nations of *Europe*. This was the flourishing Condition of *Italy*, when *Ludovic* on the one hand, and *Charles* the VIIIth on the other, began to disturb its Repose.'

There had, ever since the Year 1490, been some Discourse on foot concerning *Charles's* Title to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and many Arguments were used to inflame that young Prince with the Desire and Love of so fair a Conquest. The Earl of *Salerna*, and some other Noblemen, who had been banished from *Naples*, and taken Sanctuary in *France*, were the first that proposed it to the King ; but these Exiles could not have prevailed on him, had he not been encouraged by *Ludovic Sforza*, Uncle to the Duke of *Milan*.

The Dutchy of *Milan* sometime before passed from the Family of *Visconti* to that of *Sforza*, *Phillippo Maria Visconti*, the last Duke of that House, having

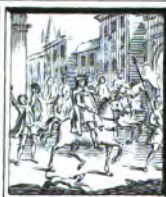
Some Account of the Family of Sforza, Dukes of Milan.

The Dutchy of *Milan* sometime before passed from the Family of *Visconti* to that of *Sforza*, *Phillippo Maria Visconti*, the last Duke of that House, having



CHARLES. VIII.

Conqueror of the Kingdom of Naples.





ving adopted *Francis Sforza*, who had married *Blanch* his only Daughter.

Francisco Sforza becoming Duke of *Milan*, on the Death of his Father-in-law, in the Year 1466, died soon after, leaving two Sons. *Ludovic*, his eldest Son succeeding him, was in a very little time assassinated; on which *John* the Youngest came to the Title and Dignity, under the Guardianship of his Mother, infamous for her Lewdness, and *Ludovic* his Uncle, whose whole Designs, spun with incredible Artifice, tended to no less than making himself Master of the Dutchy. *John* was indeed a young Man of but little Courage; yet, having married the Daughter of *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, he was for a Time preserved by their Assistance from the wicked Machinations of his Uncle.

Ferdinand of *Naples*'s Family consisted of two Sons, *Alphonso* and *Frederick*; the Eldest had two Children, a Son and a Daughter, and the Youngest died unmarried. *Alphonso*'s Son, named *Ferdinand*, was about twenty-two Years old, who, by his good Behaviour, had gained the Love of the Nobility and People; whereas the Father and Grand-father were rather feared than beloved, on Account of their oppressive Government.

*Ferdinand,
King of Na-
ples's Family.*

Ludovic, in pursuing of what he had designed, by degrees engrossed the whole Power and Government of *Milan*, leaving his Nephew only the bare Title of Duke, without his being much concerned; but *Isabella*, his Dutcheß, being uneasy to see the Duke her Spouse without any Authority, complained to the Duke of *Calabria* of this ill Usage, who shortly after persuaded *Ferdinand*, his Father, to proclaim War against *Ludovic*, in order to compel him to resign the Government to his Nephew.

To avoid this War it was, that *Ludovic* joined in exciting *Charles* to undertake the Conquest of *Naples*, putting him in Hopes of the Assistance of all his Forces; and had also a further Design to make use of *Charles's* Aid to become Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and dispossess his Nephew, for which End he had already taken some private Measures.

There were at that Time two eminent Statesmen that wholly influenced King *Charles's* Mind, who were *Stephen de Vers*, his Chamberlain, and *William Bricconnet*, his Treasurer, General, and Bishop of *St. Malo*, and the War was at first agreed on by their Advice: But *Bricconnet*, having afterwards more thoroughly considered the Consequences that might ensue from the Undertaking, became of a quite contrary Opinion; whereby the Matter was then laid aside, but soon after it came again under Consideration, and was debated in Council. At length his first Determination for War prevailing, he rejected the pacifick Counsels of his best Advisers, and concluded a Treaty with *Ludovic's* Ambassadors. The Substance of which was, 'That his Majesty's Army should have
' a free Passage thro' the State of *Milan*, and that the
' said Dutchy should at their own Charge provide him
' with 500 Men, to be ready to join the *French* Ar-
' my, and assist them in their Undertaking. More-
' over, that the *French* in *Genoa* should be allowed
' to equip what Number of Vessels they pleased for
' their own Service during the War; also, that *Lu-*
' *dovic*, before the March of his Army, should lend
' *Charles* 20,000 Ducats. On the other hand, the
' King obliged himself to defend that Dutchy against
' any Power whatsoever, to maintain *Ludovic* in his
' Government, and during the War to keep 200 of
' his Troops within the City of *Ast*, for the Service of
' *Milan*; and at last, if the War was successful, to
' bestow the Principality of *Tarranto* on *Ludovic*.'

The

The *French* Writers take notice on this Occasion, that there was not Wisdom in the King's Council, nor Money in his Coffers, nor Assurance of Allies, sufficient to carry on the War; for in *Italy* he had none but the perfidious *Ludovic* attached to his Interest.

Guicciardin, on the other side, says, ' This was the Estate of the Kingdom of *France*; it was very populous in Multitudes of Men; for Wealth and Riches, every particular Region most fertile and plentiful; for Glory in Arms most flourishing and renowned; a Policy well directed, Discipline administered, an Authority dreadful, and in Opinion and Hope most mighty; lastly, their general Conditions and Faculties so well furnished, as perhaps it was not more happy in these mortal Felicities, since the Days of *Charlemain*, and was newly amplified in every one of the three Parts, wherein *Gaul* stood divided by the Antients for 40 Years before *Charles* the VIIth reduced *Normandy*, and the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, holden by the *English*, to the Obedience of the *French* Crown: *Lewis* the XIth reduced *Provence*, Part of *Burgundy*, and almost all *Picardy*, and *Charles* the VIIIth, by Marriage, annexed *Brittany* to the Crown of *France*.'

Therefore the King could not desire to be in a better Situation for the Conquest of *Naples*, a fit Opportunity now offering to make him surmount the Renown of his Predecessors; for, if he overcame *Naples*, a ready Way would be opened to bring under Subjection the Empire of the *Turks*.

There then resided at *Charles's* Court *Fonseca*, Ambassador from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Spain*, whose Commission was, as *Charles* had so generously restored to *Ferdinand* the Countries by his Father mortgag'd to *Lewis* the XIth, in return for that Favour, to enter into a League with *Charles*, not to disturb or oppose him in his designed Expedition on *Naples*; and

and for this End a Treaty was signed by the respective Parties.

However, on the Rumours of this War, the King of *Naples* sent to offer *Charles* Homage, and to pay him a yearly Tribute of 50,000 Crowns: This he rejected, and publickly declared, he would carry on the War with Vigour, which made so great an Impression on the poor King of *Naples*, that, about the Beginning of the Year 1494, he died of Grief, and was succeeded by *Alphonso*.

In the mean time *Charles* was getting his
 1494. Army ready, in order to proceed to *Naples*,
Lyons. and in *July* the King departed for *Lyons*, (having first conferred the Regency of his Kingdom upon *Peter*, Duke of *Bourbon*) where he remained some Time, being divided in his Mind, whether he should go on with the War, or return back: At last he passed on to *Vienne*, where again he was doubtful a-while, and then set out for *Ast*; but here, being taken ill of the Small-pox, and likely to die, he was obliged to continue there above a Month to recover his Health. During this Stay his Soldiers were employ'd in drawing his Cannon over the Mountains, which they with great Difficulty effected.

Ast. Whilst *Charles* was at *Ast*, he sent *Comines* Ambassador to the several States of *Italy*, particularly *Venice*, *Rome*, and *Florence*, to desire their Advice and Assistance in his designed Expedition, and to declare, that his Master had no Design on their Towns or Liberties; that his only Aim was to procure the Restitution of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that, when he had conquered it, his Intention was, with God's Assistance, to make War on the *Turks*, for the Advantage of Christianity. The Senate of *Venice* answered *Charles's* Ambassador, ' That it was ' not for them to give Advice to so great a King; ' that they could not assist him in his Expedition, for ' Fear of the *Turks*; but that they should be glad to
 ' for

‘ see him in *Italy*, and should be more disposed to
‘ assist him, than traverse his Designs.’

Charles's Ambassadors, both at *Rome* and *Florence*, received only general Answers, without any Assurance of Assistance, yet the Expedition went on; the Army raised for this great Enterprize consisted of no more than 1600 *Gens d'Arms*, each having two Archers on Horseback; besides 200 Gentlemen, three or four hundred Light-horse, and 12,000 Foot, half *Swiss*, and half *French*: The Commanders under the King were the Duke of *Orleans*, *Lewis de la Tremoille*, the Marshals *de Gie*, *de Rieux*, and *D'Aubigny the Scot**, all Men of uncommon Merit in the Field, wherein they had signalized their Prudence and Valour on many Occasions. *Charles* was also accompanied by a great Number of young Noblemen, who went Volunteers, all very fit for a Day of Battle, but no ways proper in Affairs that required great Fatigue, or length of Time to accomplish them, not being able to undergo Hardships.

Alphonso of *Naples* was not wanting on his Part in making Preparations to oppose the *French*, and, as he was well assured *Ludovic* was one of those who stirred up *France* to undertake the Conquest of *Naples*, he came to a Resolution to attack *Ludovic* in his Nephew's Country, hoping thereby to drive him out of *Milan* before the *French* could arrive in *Italy*, and for that Purpose sent an Army into *Romania*, commanded by young *Ferdinand* his Son, and another on board his Fleet, under the Command of his Brother *Frederick*; the latter landed at *Rapulo*, in hopes that the *Genoese* would take Arms for his Assistance; but at that Instant the *French* Fleet, under the Command of the Duke

* *Robert Stuart*, Lord of *Aubigny*, and Marshal of *France*, called the *Scot*, from being born in *Scotland*, was Knight of the Order of *St. Michael*, and commanded the Forces sent over by *Charles* the VIIIth to assist our *Henry* the VIIth, when Earl of *Richmond*, and was at the Battle of *Bosworth*; he was in great Favour with *Lewis* the XIth, and was siled by the *French* the Flower of Chivalry.

Duke of Orleans, came up with the *Neapolitans*, engaged and beat them, so that they were obliged to retire to *Leghorn*.

And at the same time the Marshal *D' Aubigny* set out from *France* with Troops, in order to oppose *Alphonso's* Designs, who put his Instructions so expeditiously in Execution, that he out-marched *Ferdinand's* Army, and got before them, whereby their getting into *Romania* was prevented. By these Means neither of *Alphonso's* Armies were of any Service, and soon after they were disbanded; so that *Frederick* had nothing to do but to return to *Naples*, to prevent his being taken Prisoner, which accordingly he did, and *Ferdinand* made the best of his Way to *Rome*; and it may be properly said of these two Armies, that they appeared and disappeared in a Moment.

Such was the first Action of this War, *Turin.* that happened on the eighth of *September*, the News of which the King received with great Joy on his Arrival at *Turin*.

The Answer *Comines* receiv'd from the Senate of *Venice* to his Proposal, being by no means satisfactory to the King, his Majesty sent him again to that Republick, to try whether he could not persuade them to assist him, but the Ambassador found them immoveable in their Resolution to continue neuter: Still that did not deter *Charles*, he persisted in his Resolution of proceeding, in which he was not a little encouraged, through the Success his Troops first met with; but being in want of Money, he borrowed the Dutcheſs of *Savoy's* Rings, and at *Cassal* he took the same Freedom with the Marchioness of *Monferrat's* Jewels, which he pawn'd for 20,000 Ducats.

Ludovic Sforza and his Spouse came to meet the King at *Vigene*, and accompanied him as far as *Piacenza*. *Vigene.*

Charles arrived at *Pavia* the thirteenth of *October*, where he found Duke *Galeazzo* very ill, *Pavia.*

ill, owing to a Dose of Poison, that his Uncle *Ludovic* had caused to be given him, of which he soon after died.

No sooner was the young Duke dead, but *Ludovic* left the King, and immediately seized the Dutchy, reaping thereby the Fruit of his Wickedness, not shewing the least Regard to *Galeazzo's* Son, who was then but five Years old.

The *French* indeed trembled with Horror, at the first News of the Wickedness of this Wretch, who acted so far as to bring their King to be a Witness of a Parricide upon the Person of his Cousin German ; and several of his Majesty's Council thought it much better and safer, to revenge *Galeazzo's* Death, and conquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, than march any farther.

Duke *Ludovic*, by his Intrigues having gained *Stephen de Vers* to his Interest, soon overthrew all the good Counsel that was given the King ; and, among other Arguments, he was told, that his Reputation would suffer, if he abandoned his Attempt upon *Naples*, and which would also be very strange, in regard he had now a very good Prospect of succeeding in it.

This prevailed on the King to renew *Serezzenello*. his March, and take the Road for *Tuscany*, in order to go for *Rome*, and from thence to enter the Kingdom of *Naples*, and in his Way he took a small Castle by Storm on the Confines of *Florence* ; then the Fort of *Serezzenello* on Articles, and defeated some Succours marching up under *Paul Ursine*. This so terrified *Peter de Medicis*, that he resolved to go to his Majesty and make Peace with him, who received him graciously, and soon after he agreed to all the King's Demands ; which were to deliver into his Hands four Places in *Tuscany*, that were the very Keys of that Country, with Liberty for *Charles* to keep them a limited Time, and to permit him to borrow 200,000

‘include any other Prince in it;’ and with this Answer the Bishops returned to *Rome*.

From *Viterbo*, where the King left a Garrison, he proceeded to *Nepi*; and on the 18th of *December* he came within sight of *Rome*, having seized several Towns in the adjacent Parts, where he dispersed his Men; he also sent two thousand *Swiss*, and five hundred Launces to conduct Cardinal *de la Rovere* to his Bishoprick, who for fear of the Pope, his declared Enemy, durst not venture till now to reside there; which Forces had Orders to join the *Colonnis* on the other side the *Tyber*, in order to protect the Correspondence those Lords had at *Rome*.

On these Tidings the Pope was seized with such Consternation and Abjection of Mind, that, being, as it were, destitute of all manner of Counsel and Assistance with Intreaties and Tears in his Eyes, he began to recommend his Affairs and the Safety of his Person to his Domesticks, being disposed to leave *Rome*, and retire to a Place of more Safety, in Company of those Cardinals whom, some time before, he had in a Consistory obliged by a Writing to follow him.

But *Borgia*, his Son, thinking, that if the Pope left *Rome*, it would not be so much yielding the Field of Battle to the Enemy, as the Ruining of their Family to such a Degree, that it might chance never to rise again; he therefore begged his Holiness not to depart from the City on any Account, assuring him, that he would use his best Endeavours to prevail with the Inhabitants to defend both his Person and the City.

For that End, he acted himself in a very humble and affectionate Manner towards the People, making them great Promises, and at the same time distributing Largesses among the Heads of the Factions: Besides, the better to strengthen his Interest, he recommended his Affairs to the Foreign Ministers, and all those

those who had Interest with the *French*, that were there at that Time ; but he could obtain no other Answer from them, than as they were the Substitutes of their respective Princes, they could not act any other Way, than as they were directed by their Principals. After all, both Father and Son found their Affairs in a very bad Situation ; and what added to their Trouble was the Murmurs of the People, when they found all Provisions by Sea intercepted, and it was looked upon as a bad Omen, Part of the City Wall falling down. In short, Matters at last came to that pass, that the Pope was necessitated to shift for himself, but the Difficulty was how to do it without endangering his Person, or dishonouring his Dignity. He could not but see with great Regret *de la Rovere*, and some other Cardinals, in great Trust and Favour with *Charles*, all of them capable of the most violent Resolutions ; the unjust Means by which he arrived at the Pontificate, the scandalous Life he had led, and assembling a General Council to depose him, were publickly talked of : So that upon the Whole it was more easy for the King of *France* to act offensively against the City of *Rome*, than it was possible for the Pope to defend it ; his Holiness, therefore, judging it in vain to contend with *Charles*, under such disadvantageous Circumstances, resolved to yield to Necessity, and rather undergo the Inconveniences of a precarious Peace, than expose himself to the certain Danger of a War.

Whilst the Pope was thus perplexed, *Charles Rome*. on *Christmas* Eve sent Ambassadors to his Holiness, whose Instructions were to demand Leave for their Master to enter *Rome*, and to require, that the *Neapolitan* Troops should be dismissed from thence, and the *French* Army have Provisions allowed them at the King's Charge. These were Terms of a hard Digestion for the Pope ; but of two Evils he chose the least, and accordingly yielded

to his Majesty's Desire. Two Days after he sent to acquaint *Charles*, that he might pass thro' *Rome* when and in what manner he pleased ; but, before he sent the Messenger, the Duke of *Calabria* was introduced to the Pope in the Presence of the Cardinals, where *Alexander* complained, ' That hard Fate had obliged him at last to yield to the Career of *Charles's* Fortune to evade the Fury of his Arms, and prevent the Dignity of his Pontificate, and the holy Things at *Rome* from being exposed to the Insolence of the Soldiers ; and then he begged the Duke to retire with his Army, to a Place where he might have an Opportunity of exerting his Valour in the Defending his Right, and where he hoped he would encounter such good Fortune as he had always wished might attend him : He further told him, that for this End he had obtained Liberty from the *French* to let his Army march thro' the Ecclesiastical Territory without Molestation.' To which the magnanimous Youth made Answer, ' That since he had not the Fortune to serve his Holiness, according to his Wish in coming thither, he was willing to retreat ; and as to that which the Pope said he had obtained for him, he gave him Thanks, but that it was the Maxim of the Princes of *Arragon* not to seek Security from the Enemy by any other Means than what they carried along with them, pointing to his Sword.' Accordingly, after Mass was celebrated, he took Leave of the Pope and Cardinals, and marched his Army directly towards *Naples*, being accompanied out of Town by *Borgia*, who assured him at parting, ' That it was nothing but downright Necessity had obliged his Holiness to yield to the *French* King's Desire in the Manner he had done ;' at the same time telling him, ' That a forced Compliance could never be able to interrupt that Union of Blood, Affection, and Interest, which was between them, and that he wished for nothing

‘ nothing so much as for an Opportunity of giving
‘ him unquestionable Proofs thereof by his Actions.’

This was transacted *Decemb. 31st*, and the King made his Entry into *Rome* in the Evening by Torch-light at the Head of his Soldiers under Arms, ordering all the important Posts to be seized, and a large Guard to surround the Palace of *St. Mark*, where the King took up his Lodgings. With these glorious Exploits ended the Year 1494.

The King’s Intention was to have immedi- 1495.
ately paid his Holiness a Visit; but he was seized with such a Tremour when the *French* entered *Rome*, that he shut himself up in the Castle of *St. Angelo*. This was so resented by *Charles*, that he sent him a Summons to deliver up the Castle, and, on his refusing, he made his Artillery twice advance to batter the Place; both the Pope and *Borgia* were thereupon seized with such a Panick, that, to avoid the impending Danger, *Alexander* sent, in a very humble Manner, to the King, to beg that he would treat with him, which was complied with, and soon after a League was concluded between them; wherein his Holiness was made to declare, ‘ That he united with his Majesty for the Security of *Italy*, and
‘ that *Charles* should have the Possession of five of
‘ his best Towns, nor should he molest the Cardinals
‘ or the Lords who had declared for *France*.’ The Remainder of the Articles regarded only the Security of the *French* Troops, and the Restitution of the Towns to the Holy See after the Conquest of *Naples*.

The Pope, upon the concluding this Treaty, delivered into the Hands of the *French Cæsar Borgia*, and *Zemes*, the exiled Brother of *Bajazet*, the *Ottoman* Emperor, as Hostages for the Performance of what he had stipulated; but *Zemes* soon after died, not without Suspicion of being poisoned by the Pope’s Contrivance, and that for the Sake of a Reward from the *Turkish* Emperor.

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Upon signing the Treaty, *Alexander* and *Charles* had an Interview, *January* the 16th; and it was so contrived, that they should first meet in the Private Garden of the Vatican, whither from the Chambers of that Palace the King descended, as soon as he was informed that the Pope had passed thro' the Gallery, which leads from the Castle of *St. Angelo*.

No sooner did the Pope enter the Garden, than the King advanced towards him, and at some Distance kneeled according to the *Roman* Ceremonial. At first the Pope made as if he had not seen him; but approaching a little nearer, and *Charles* having kneeled a second time, the Pope then, as if it had been the first Time, took off his Cap, and moved forward, lifting the King up by the Arm, then kissed his Mouth, nor would he be covered till his Majesty first put on his Hat, which his Holiness offered to do with his own Hand. After sundry Compliments passed between them, the King desired a Favour of him, namely to create the Bishop of *St. Malo* a Cardinal, his Request was immediately granted; then the Pope led him by the Hand into the Chamber called *del Papagallo*, where they no sooner arrived, than *Alexander* pretended to fall into a Swoon, and being taken up and set in a Great Chair, *Charles* placed himself on a Stool near the Window; the Whole being artfully contrived by his Holiness to avoid any Disorder, which otherwise might have happened in the Ceremonial about Precedency.

As soon as the Pope was recovered, he proposed the Bishop of *St. Malo* to be a Cardinal, to which the whole College unanimously consented, and he accordingly was exalted to the Purple Dignity; after which the outer Doors of the *Vatican* Palace was resigned to the *Scots*, who were then the King's Life-Guards, as were in like manner the other Doors, which more immediately led to the King's Apartments.

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The Day following, while the Pope, together with some Cardinals, and the Master of the Ceremonies, were consulting in what Manner the Solemnity of receiving the King in the Publick Consistory should be performed, *Charles*, whose Mind was above Ceremonies, came unexpectedly to the Pope, to adjust some Points that were still depending between them.

Two Days after the Pope held a Consistory, in which the King had agreed to perform his Homage, and accordingly his Majesty came attended with a splendid Train, as well of Prelates, as *French* and *Italian* Nobility; he was met by four Cardinals, amidst whom the King walked till he came to the Chamber, where his Holiness was, and after the Ceremony of kissing his Feet, Hands, and Mouth was over, a Sign was given to proceed to the Remainder. Whereupon the first President of the Parliament of *Paris* spoke in the following Manner:

‘ *Holy Father,*

‘ Here is my King come in Person to pay Homage to your Holiness; and as it is the Custom in *France*, that whosoever makes an Offer of Vassallage to his Lord, receives, by way of Recompence, a Grant of whatsoever Favour he asks. On this Account, his Majesty, not doubting but he shall obtain of your Holiness those Things which he shall request, assures you, on his Part, he is likewise ready to grant what will recompence the Favours. There are two Things which the King demands of you; first, a Confirmation of the Privileges contained in the Book, the Title of which has been before mentioned by my Master. The second Demand is, the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* for himself and his Successors for ever.’

Alexander was very much surprized at these unexpected Demands; yet he answered with a remarkable Presence of Mind, ‘ That he very willingly granted the fore-mentioned Privileges as usual: That as

‘ to the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, as it
 ‘ was an Affair in which the Interest of another was
 ‘ concerned, so it could not be determined till after
 ‘ mature Deliberation, and the Advice of the Car-
 ‘ dinals taken therein, with whom he would use his
 ‘ best Endeavours, that his Majesty might receive
 ‘ Satisfaction.’

Charles seemed satisfied with this Answer, and proceeded in performing his Homage, which he expressed in very few Words; where, standing on his Feet, the President spoke again as follows:

‘ *Holy Father,*

‘ It is an ancient Custom among the Christian
 ‘ Princes, particularly the Most Christian Kings of
 ‘ *France*, to testify by their Ambassadors the Venera-
 ‘ tion they have for the Holy See, and for those
 ‘ Popes whom the Almighty places over the Church;
 ‘ but his Majesty, here present, having been desirous
 ‘ to visit the Sepulchres of the Holy Apostles in this
 ‘ City, is come in Person to perform that Duty. On
 ‘ this Account he acknowledges you, Holy Father,
 ‘ to be Vicar of Christ, and lawful Successor of the
 ‘ Holy Apostles, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, rendering wil-
 ‘ lingly that filial Obedience which the Most Chri-
 ‘ stian Kings of *France*, his Predecessors, used invio-
 ‘ lably to profess towards the Popes. His Majesty
 ‘ therefore offers himself and his Power for the Ser-
 ‘ vice of your Holiness and the Church.’

The Pope, holding in the mean time the King’s Right Hand with his Left, conferred on his Majesty all imaginable Marks of Honour and Esteem, styling him First-begotten Son of the Church. The Ceremony being ended, the Pope led the King by the Hand to the Chamber, where his Vestments were put off, and shewed a Desire to accompany him to his Apartments; but *Charles* would not permit that.

His Holiness paid the King one Piece of Respect, which surprized all the World, giving Orders, that every

every Thing should be transacted by this Prince's Directions while he staid at *Rome*. Justice was administered in his Name, and by his Officers, those belonging to the Pope not in the least intermeddling; and two Gallows were erected there, as Marks of Royal Justice.

The King set out from *Rome*, Jan. 28th, having made near a Month's Stay there, accompanied with *Borgia*, and directed his March towards *Naples*. The *Spanish* Ambassador was very uneasy at the Success that had attended his Majesty, which put him, by the Direction of *Ferdinand*, upon endeavouring to find some Pretence for a Rupture with *France*, in an Audience he was to have with *Charles*; in which he was so free as to tell him, 'That the *French* intended no less than to make themselves Masters of all *Italy*, insinuating, That though in the Treaty his Master made with him, he had promised not to oppose him in his Progress to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*; yet now, as he had taken divers Places from the *Florentines* and the See of *Rome*, he conceived it concerned his Catholick Majesty to oppose his further Proceedings.' *Charles* smartly replying, the Dispute grew so hot, that the Ambassador tore the Treaty in pieces before his Face. This Behaviour so incensed the *French* Officers, that they could scarce forbear offering Violence to his Person in the King's Presence; whereupon the Ambassador retired and quitted the Court; and we shall soon see *Spain* joining with his Majesty's Enemies, in order to drive him out of what he afterwards conquered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* continued quiet till the King's Arrival at *Rome*; but, as soon as the Rumour was spread, that the *French* Army was marching thro' *Campagna di Roma*, the Malecontents, who hated King *Alphonso* no less than they had hated his Father and Grand-father, because of their Cruelty, Avarice, and Impiety, took up Arms in most Places. The Town

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of *Aquila*, and all the Province of *Abruzzo* revolted openly, set up the *French* Banners, and *Fabricius Colonna* took Possession of several Fortresses in the Name of King *Charles*.

This Uproar soon communicated itself thro' the whole Realm, in several Places of which there still remained many of the *Angevin* Party. King *Alphonso* seeing the *French* Army approach, and not daring to quit *Naples*, for fear it should follow the Example of other Parts of the Kingdom, came to an uncommon Resolution, by which he was in hopes of reclaiming the People: He quitted his Crown, and placed it on the Head of his Son *Ferdinand*, a young Prince of a brave and generous Disposition, and beloved by the *Neapolitans*; proclaimed him King at *Naples*, and, without any further Stay, fled himself in his Gallies to *Mazara* in *Sicily*.

In the mean time *Charles* advanced forward, *Veletri*. and arrived at *Veletri*, Jan. 29th, having dined at *Marigna*; from whence *Borgia* escaped, which from that Time fully satisfied the King, that the Favour the Pope pretended to shew him at *Rome* was only feigned; and, tho' he used all Endeavours to clear himself from having any hand in this Escape, the King did not believe him.

The *French* King being just arrived *Montefortino*. upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Engilbert* of *Cleves*, Count of *Nevers*, who led the Vanguard of the Army, begun to enter on Action, attacking *Montefortino*, and seized it Sword in Hand. He then laid Siege to the Fortrefs of *Mount St. John*, and forced it with the same Vigour, put all to the Sword, and reduced it to Ashes; which was done to terrify the Country.

This Execution made the Kingdom of *St. Germans*. *Naples* tremble, and intimidated the new King's Army, who had advanced as far as *St. Germans* with fifty Squadrons and six thousand Infantry,

fantry, all choice Soldiers, commanded by good Officers. The Place was the Key of *Naples*, strongly fortified by Situation, and by three well-built Castles, encompassed partly with Marshes, and partly with Mountains, very difficult of Access. It being necessary for *Charles* to pass the River of *Garigliano*, and a very narrow Lane, before he could go forward, *Ferdinand* of *Naples* was determined to guard this Passage, or perish. *Charles* was aware of the Difficulty in forcing it, but, trusting to the Bravery of his Troops, he marched up to it.

Lewis of *Armagnac*, Count of *Guise*, and afterwards Duke of *Nemours*, had that Day the Command of the Vanguard, and came up with two thousand Foot and three hundred Horse; and as soon as he appeared, he spread so great a Terror in the Enemy's Army, that, in spite of all that *Ferdinand* could do, they mostly disbanded, forsook him, and, *St. Germans* surrendering, he had no other Way to take, but to repair with part of his Troops to *Capua*, whilst others by his Orders getting into *Naples* and *Cajeta*, the Remainder deserted.

The Difficulty of such Conjunctions as these is, that there are several Misfortunes to fear at the same Time, and one cannot be avoided without being liable to fall into the other. *Ferdinand* fled to *Capua*, because a strong Place, and always well-affected to the House of *Arragon*; but his Presence was as necessary at *Naples*, to encourage that Capital to continue firm to his Interest, which was quite dismayed at the Loss of *St. Germans*. The Queen, whom he had left there, wrote to him, and conjured him to come without a Moment's Delay, to prevent the general Revolt of the People, who were upon the Point of receiving the *French*.

On this Advice *Ferdinand* set out from *Capua*, promising the Inhabitants to return the next Day, leaving *John James Trivulca*, one of his most experienced Officers, whom he most confided in, to command in his

his Absence : But, as soon as *Ferdinand* was got to *Naples*, this Lord went to *Charles*, and assured him, that himself and the Inhabitants of *Capua* waited only for his Orders to deliver themselves up to him.

Capua. *Trivulca* made too agreeable a Compliment, not to be received with all the Welcome possible : His Majesty assured him, that neither he nor the Inhabitants of *Capua* should ever repent their having had recourse to his Clemency ; and accordingly the King took Possession of this fine City, and he immediately gave *Trivulca* a considerable Command in his Army. *Italy* was surprized at this Lord's Conduct, who till then had passed for a Man of so much Bravery and Integrity, as to be incapable of such a Step ; but he protested several times afterwards, that he had acted in this particular with *Ferdinand's* Consent, in hopes of making some tolerable Agreement for his Master with *Charles*. Be that as it will, *Ferdinand*, who was coming back to *Capua*, hearing what had passed, turned short for *Naples*. On the Way, he was informed, that the Inhabitants had sent a Messenger to the *French* King with an Offer to surrender.

Notwithstanding this, he went into the Town again, and, having called together the Chief of the Nobility and People, spoke to them in so very affecting a Manner, that Tears fell from the Eyes of several of the Standers by, but had no other Effect ; this Prince, therefore, resolved to quit a Place which he could not keep, set fire to the Ships lying in the Port, and went a-board his Galleys, with his Queen, *Jane* his Daughter, the old Queen his Grandfather's Wife, and a few Lords, who would not forsake him in his Misfortunes, and sailed to the Isle of *Iscbia*, thirty Miles from *Naples*, to wait there for some favourable Opportunity of recovering his Affairs.

Charles, by *Ferdinand's* Flight, was left *Naples*. Master of almost all the Kingdom, and made his Entry into *Naples* on the 22d of February with

with the Acclamations of the People : He was himself surprized at his Success, and he had Reason to be so, having passed the *Alps* without either Money or proper Provisions for such a great Expedition ; but then, on the other side, several of the Princes of *Italy* continued quiet, for no other Reason, than that they believed so rash a Project would come to nothing : And, had he met with more Opposition in his Passage, his Army must have perished for want of Forage and Provision, through the Rigour of the Season alone. His surprising Success on such an ill-concerted Scheme was, therefore, by all *Europe*, attributed to the particular Providence of God, who designed thereby to punish the enormous Crimes of the three last Kings of *Naples*.

In the next Place, the Castles of *Naples* were attacked, and carried in about eight or ten Days, tho' *Ferdinand* had left some Troops to defend them ; in which a great Quantity of Artillery, Arms, and Provision were found. The rest of the Cities soon followed the Example of the Capital ; so that in fifteen Days *Charles* conquered the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, except *Brindes*.

His Majesty's whole Expedition, and the incessant Success of his Arms, if maturely considered, will not appear inferior to *Julius Cæsar* himself, having conquered, with so great Ease, wherever he came, that in all the Expedition he never had occasion to display one Banner, or break a Spear against an Enemy in the open Field ; and, as Pope *Alexander* used to say, *The French had over-run all Italy with Wooden Spurs* : Nay, a great many Preparations which he had made, were found altogether superfluous, particularly his Fleet, which had been equipped at a great Charge, by the Violence of the Weather being driven to the Island of *Corfica*, was not yet arrived in any Part of the Kingdom ; so that on Account of domestick Broils, the Wisdom of the *Italian* Princes were baffled, and a large
and

and most powerful Part of their Dominions alienated from their native Governor, and delivered up to Foreigners, to their Proprietors Shame and Ignominy, and the Derision and Contempt of the *Italian* Arms.

The King being now got safe to *Naples*, the Duke of *Orleans* set out for *France*, in order to bring back with him a fresh Supply of Troops; and in the meantime this Sunshine of Fortune so dazzled *Charles* and his Courtiers, that they scarce took any Care at all of the Government, several Cities that had set up the *French* Colours, now declared against them, the King having sent no body to take Possession of those Places. His Favourites squandered away the Stores, his Soldiers lived at Discretion, and his Lords grew insolent; the People were not eased, no Justice done to the Gentlemen of the *Angevin* Party, who had been dispossessed of their Estates, of which the Earl of *Salerna* was one of the Principals or Head, and for which he was banished from *Naples*; so that the Love, the *Neapolitans* first shewed for the *French*, was converted into Hatred, and this made them forget the Trouble they suffered under the preceding Kings.

But now to return to *Ludovic*: He first engaged with the *French*, from the Desire he had of usurping the Dukedom of *Milan*, and out of Fear of the King of *Naples* and *Peter de Medicis*.

It is true, by the *French* coming into *Italy*, he obtained his ambitious Aim; but seeing the *Neapolitans* were now reduced, he begun then to consider a more rational Fear; namely, of seeing his own Dutchy, and the Liberty of all *Italy* in the utmost Danger, if *Charles* should be allowed to keep his new Acquisitions, having imagined to himself at first, that that Prince would have met with far greater Difficulty than he did, especially in the *Florentine* Dominions: But being deceived in this Point, and perceiving that *Charles* had passed likewise thro' the Ecclesiastical State without the least Opposition,

position, and had actually made himself Master of *Naples*. On this he thought it was Time for him to fall in with new Measures.

The same way of Thinking possessed the Minds of the *Venetians*, who, notwithstanding they had hitherto persisted in their Resolution of keeping an exact Neutrality ; yet, seeing the *French* had met with such a prodigious Run of Prosperity, and penetrated into the utmost Bounds of *Italy* without the least Resistance ; on this they began to be of Opinion, that the Misfortunes of others were, at length, to become their own ; more especially since *Charles* had possessed himself of *Pisa*, and the other strong Holds of the *Florentines*, and left a Garrison within *Sienna*. On this they began, with *Ludovic*, to think on the common Welfare and Safety of *Italy*, and consequently of their respective Dominions, to find out some Means to put a Stop to the victorious Career of the *French*, and to join with the other Powers of *Italy* in forming a League against them : But *Charles*, suspecting *Ludovic's* Treachery, after taking Possession of *Naples*, sent *Trivulca* with some Forces to secure *Genoa*, and to raise a Party for him within that Place ; which being known to *Ludovic*, he arrested twelve Gallies, which were arming for *Charles* in *Genoa*, and also prohibited any more Vessels to be equipped for the *French* within the Harbours of his Territories.

The Pope and *Borgia*, perceiving that the Negotiations for making a League against the *French* were so far advanced, that the Affair could be put in Execution whenever they pleased, on purpose, therefore, to make the World believe that they all acted, not so much for promoting their own particular Interests, as that of Zeal for the Glory of God, the Publick Welfare, and the Advantage of the holy See, *Alexander* therefore convened together several Cardinals, many of whom were his own Creatures, to whom he gave a distinct Account of all *Charles's* Procedure, and of the

Progress which his Arms had made in *Italy*, saying, 'That the greater his Success had been, the more Jealousies had it raised in the Minds of Princes, and consequently the more had they been induced to unite together for their common Defence and Safety; and since they had no other View for engaging him to concur in those Matters, but what belonged to his Function, as the *Vicar of Jesus Christ*, and the common Father of all Christians, he therefore prayed those who were Companions with him in supporting the Weight of Ecclesiastical Affairs, and who by their Practice and Knowledge of State Matters were able to judge therein, that they, with all imaginable Freedom, would declare their Sentiments about this grave and important Affair.' The Cardinals unanimously advised his Holiness to join with the other *Italian* Princes for the Defence of *Italy*, as well against the *French*, as any other Power that should offer to disturb her Repose.

His Holiness readily closed with their Advice, and made no Difficulty in breaking the Treaty he had so lately made with *Charles*; for even at the Time the Pope was thus acting at *Rome*, his Ministers at *Venice*, and those of other Princes, were upon the Point of concluding the above-mentioned League; so that in a little Time it was determined in this Manner; namely, 'That between the Pope, the Emperor, *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, the Republick of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Milan*, a Confederacy should be established for the Publick Welfare and Defence of their respective Territories, reserving an Opportunity for other Princes to join with them, and even to *Charles* himself, provided he would agree thereto on honest Terms.' This was the specious Title by which the League was distinguished to the Publick; but as every individual Prince united therein, had imagined to himself, that their publick Safety, and Defence of their Property were impracti-

impracticable, whilst *Charles* was possessed of his new Acquisitions in *Italy*, there were therefore private Articles; in which it was agreed, 'That each of them 'should attack the *French* in different Places with the 'utmost Vigour at one and the same time.

Upon the News of this League's being concluded, it filled the Pope and his Son's Minds with great Joy. Accordingly, with much Solemnity and Ostentation, the same was published within *St. Peter's* Church on the *Palm Sunday* following, where *Te Deum* was sung; after which the Bishop of *Concordia* made a most eloquent Oration on that Occasion, which was published.

During the Time the Confederacy was forming, *Comines*, the *French* Ambassador at *Venice*, went daily to the Palace, and yet the Treaty was so privately managed, that it was concluded before he heard of it: And, the next Day after the Conclusion of the League, *Comines* was sent for to attend the Senate; where, being acquainted with what they had done, he behaved like a Man bereft of his Senses: But the Prince telling him, they did not conclude the Treaty with Intention to make War upon any one, but purely to defend themselves, *Comines*, by degrees, recovered his lost Spirits, and said, *My King shall not return into France*; and the Duke of *Venice* answered, *But he shall: And if he will return as our Friend, we will willingly help him with whatsoever he shall want.*

On this Answer *Comines* went out of the Senate-house so amazed, that, being at the Stairs-foot, and turning to the Chancellor who attended him, he said, *Good Sir, tell me what the Prince said, for I have forgot it*; which the Chancellor did; and with this unwelcome News *Comines* returned to his House, from whence he immediately sent a Messenger to inform his Master of what had passed.

On the Arrival of this Courier, the King began to think of returning into *France*, but resolved first to

make his triumphant Entry into *Naples* ; which, *May* 13th, he did in this Manner : He was on Horseback in an Imperial Habit, with a Crown on his Head, the Globe in his Right Hand, and the Sceptre in his Left, under a Canopy carried by the greatest Lords of that Country ; and the People shouting aloud, *Long live our August Emperor !* In this grand State being conducted to the Cathedral, he there received again the Oath of Fidelity from the *Neapolitans*.

This Ceremony being over, the King declared his Intention of returning to *France*, and immediately settled his Affairs at *Naples* ; first he ordered 4000 of his Forces to remain there to defend that Kingdom, and the Country readily supplied him with twice as many, designing, as soon as he arrived in *France*, to send a fresh Supply of Troops for the better Defence of that Kingdom.

Next, *Charles* constituted the Duke of *Montpesier* Viceroy of *Naples*, a good Man, but of little Judgment, and one that loved his Ease so much, that he seldom rose before Noon. The King gave to *D'Aubigny* the Office of Constable, and conferred on him the Government of *Calabria* ; he gave to *George de Sully* the Government of the Dutchy of *Tarento*, *Guerre a Gason*, and *Abruzzo* ; and to *Stephen de Vers* the Government of the Dutchy of *Nola*.

A few Days before the King set forward from *Naples*, on his Way to *France*, the Duke of *Orleans* passed out of that Kingdom with a considerable Body of Troops under his Command, and entered the *Milanese* ; but, instead of pursuing his March, he stopped short and attacked *Novara*, which he took by Surprise. The *French* Writers say, that neither the Duke of *Bourbon*, nor the King intended they should be thus employed, being, as they say, sent for no other Purpose than to facilitate his Majesty's Retreat : But, to excuse

Journal of King Charles's Proceedings from Naples, till his Return to France.

excuse this on the other side, it was said, that the Duke of *Orleans* pretended, as *Ludovic* had engaged with the *Venetians* and other Powers, in order to drive the *French* out of *Italy*, that, in case he had not so acted, he must have lost his Army; but others say, that he might have proceeded without Interruption, and so placed his Forces as to have been of real Service to *Charles* in his Return to *France*. As he did not so do, some have thought that he meditated a Revenge on the King for his being confined two Years in the *Tower of Bourges*, when taken Prisoner at the Battle of *St. Aubin*; and that therefore, as he believed the King would be much distressed in his Return, he was willing that *Charles* should taste somewhat of Hardship, as he had done.

The King, as soon as he had settled the *Rome*. Government of his new conquered Kingdom, set forward from *Naples* in his Return to *France* on the 20th of *May*, (being three Months after his first entering into that Kingdom) and marched back to *Rome* the same Way that he came.

When *Charles* arrived in that City, he found the Pope was retired to *Perugia*, the old Father not caring to look him in the Face, as Affairs were now situated; however, the King contented himself in barely passing thro' *Rome*, without offering Violence to any one. On the 11th of *June* he arrived at *Sienna*, where *Comines* was come by his Order. This *Sienna*. Lord advised the King to hasten his March, and to reach *Ast* as soon possible, for that the Enemy were on Motion in every Place to oppose him.

This judicious Advice was not regarded. The King lost fifteen Days at *Sienna*, in ordering some Affairs of much less Consequence, than the Safety of his Person and Army, *Louis* of *Luxembourg*, Count of *Ligni*, his Favourite, leading him into this Mistake, out of some private Views; besides, he weakened his Army by garrisoning the Towns of the Repub-

lick of *Florence*, and by sending a Detachment to surprize *Genoa*, in which he did not succeed.

Pontermoli. He soon arrived at the long Lane between *Pietra Santa* and *Pontermoli*, where a small Number of Men might have easily hindered his Army from passing : But the Inhabitants of *Pontermoli* opened their Gates to him, and met with a very bad Return for so doing ; for the *Swiss*, belonging to the *French* Army, remembering a Quarrel that had happened between them in their former March, in which some of their Comrades had been killed, resolved to be revenged of them, and, running thro' the Streets like Madmen with their drawn Swords, destroyed all that they met, and set several Places on Fire : And, tho' the Seditious were not then punished, they acknowledged their Crime, and some Days after made such Amends for it, as thoroughly merited the King's Pardon.

On his Departure from *Pontermoli* he found himself extremely straightened for want of Provision, and hard put to it to pass the Mountains, which were very high and steep in those Parts ; and that, which yet more perplexed the King, was how to carry the Artillery thro' Ways that no Carriage had ever passed ; several advised him to nail up or burst his Ordnance, and leave it behind him, which he must have done, had not the *Swiss* taken a very extraordinary Resolution, which saved the Army.

They knew that the King was very much enraged against them for the Cruelties they had exercised at *Pontermoli*, and themselves also were ashamed and concerned for it ; upon this Account they told the King, ' That if he would pardon their Crime, they ' would endeavour to expiate it by drawing the Artillery themselves in such Places as the Horses could ' not draw it'. The King, being as much delighted as surprized at the Offer, answered, ' That he would ' not only pardon them, but also should never forget ' the Zeal they shewed for his Service on so necessary ' and pressing an Occasion.'

Accordingly they went to work, 200 *Swiss* were yoked two by two, and, notwithstanding the excessive Heat of the Season, they, having drawn all the Cannon up to the Top of the Mountains, with no less Difficulty convey'd them down the Descent on the other Side.

During this toilsome March the Marshal *de Fornuovo*. *Gie* had always gone before with the Vanguard, (to place himself at the Head of the Lanes, on the Entrance of the Plain) which consisted of only 15 or 1600 Men, and encamp'd near the Village of *Fornuovo* in the *Parmesan*, waiting there three Days for the rest of the Army. The Enemy's Army in the mean Time were assembled by degrees at half a League's Distance, which Place, if the King had not lost so much Time at *Pisa* and *Sienna*, he would have passed, before they had been in a Condition to attack him: But, by that Time he arrived, the *Italian* Confederates had collected almost their whole Force together, consisting of 35,000 Men, and incamped at *Cbiarvola*.

The Marshal, finding this, thought proper, for his greater Security, to draw nearer the Mountains again; but, as soon as the King with the rest of the Forces joined him, the whole Army encamped at *Fornuovo*, on *Sunday, July* the 5th.

Upon the Marshal *de Gie's* reporting the great Number of the Enemy and their Situation, before which it was necessary for them to pass, it was unanimously agreed in a Council of War, that they could not have fallen into greater Danger, and, resolving to try what could be done by Negotiation, *Comines* wrote to the two Proveditors of the *Venetian* Forces; but they answered, 'That it was too late now to talk of treating, when they were already fighting in the *Milanese*.'

Having got their Answer, they prepared to march. The King, notwithstanding his Concern, never appeared more chearful; he survey'd the whole Camp, and

and the Soldiers every where cried out, *They were resolved to perish with him, or conquer*; and desired him to lead them immediately up to the Enemy. He had not above 7000 Men in his Army that were regular Forces, but they took in all the Servants, and every one that was capable of bearing Arms, to the Number of about 2000.

The Army was divided into three Bodies, and, as it was thought, that the Van-guard would be the most pressed, the King ranged all his best Troops there, under the Command of the Marshal *de Gie*, and *de Trivulca*; placed himself at the Corps *de Bataille*, with the Lord *de la Tremoville*, to command under him; in which Body there were several Lords, and a great Number of young Gentlemen: The Count of *Foix* was placed at the Head of the Rear, and the Baggage at the left of the Army, under the Guard of Captain *Odet*.

In this Order they began to march, the Army having on the right a little River, or Torrent, named the *Taro*. When they came over-against the Enemy, they were but a quarter of a League distant, and had only a little River and a Meadow between them. In the mean Time the Confederates Forces were ranged in Order of Battle in the Form of an Amphitheatre, reaching from the Meadow to the two neighbouring Hills; they had posted themselves in this Place, being the Road to *Parma*, to hinder the *French* Army from getting that City; which would have been of great Service to them, in regard they had a very great Interest there.

The Armies being in this Posture, *Comines* and the Cardinal *Briçonnet*, wrote again to the Proveditors to propose a Conference; which was at first accepted, but when the Enemy's Trumpet went to the *French* Army, to agree upon the Place for holding the Conference, the Count *de Cajazza*, who commanded the *Milanese* Troops, gain'd over one of the Proveditors, and

and *Francis de Gonsagues*, Marquis of *Mantua*, chief Commander of the *Venetian* Forces, and carry'd it for a Battle.

The *French* were surpriz'd to see the Enemy fire their Artillery, instead of Treating ; but notwithstanding they answer'd them so well, that they threw down the *Venetian* Battery.

Mantua undertook to attack the *French* Rear, and the Count of *Cajazza* their Van ; the first was received by the *Gens d'Arms* with great Fury, and both Sides, having broke their Launces, came to small Arms ; the Fight was very bloody, and *Rodolphus de Gonsagues*, Uncle of the Marquis of *Mantua*, taking off his Vizard to give Orders, was the same Moment smitten in the Face with a Sword by a *French* *Gens d'Arm*, dismounted, and trampled to Death by the Horses.

Charles, seeing his Rear hard pressed, and borne down by Numbers, with some Regiments march'd up to their Assistance, and entered so far into the Fight, that he found himself in the foremost Rank, where he was attacked, and would have been taken, had it not been for the Goodness of his Horse, which was so furious no one durst come near him, and carried him through, till Succours came to his Assistance. He had no sooner ranged himself, with the Lord *de la Tremoville*, at the Head of about 120 Men, to whom were joined 100 Archers of his Guard, but he was charged by two of the Enemy's Regiments, who aimed principally at his Person, which Effort he sustained and broke : Tho' after all the Parties were so unequal, he must have sunk, if it had not been for that gallant Resolution, which often converts the greatest Dangers into Success, especially in the Business of War.

Some of the *Stradiots*, who were a light Horse of the *Albanois*, made use of by the *Venetians*, passed the

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River

River to *Fornovo*, and, according to their Orders, fell upon the Baggage of the *French Army*, which had but few to guard it, because almost all the Troops were in the Fight. These *Stradiots*, having got their Prize, began to retire to the Van-guard: The other *Stradiots*, who were to support the *Gens d'Arms* of the Marquis of *Mantua*, seeing their Comrades bringing away Mules and Carts in great Number, could not contain themselves, but, being eager to partake of the Booty, disbanded in a Moment to run after the Plunder.

The King's Side made an Advantage of this Disorder, the Archers of the Guard and a great Number of young Nobility falling furiously upon the *Italian Gens d'Armry*, (whom the Struggling of the Launces, as it usually happens in such Cases, had forced out of their Ranks) prevented their joining again, made a great Slaughter of them, and so terrified the Infantry, that they began to fly.

Such was the Condition of the *French* on this Occasion, that they were under a Necessity of making a thorough Conquest of it: For the Defeat of the Marquis of *Mantua* would not have saved them, if the Count of *Cajazza* had succeeded in his Attack of the Van-guard; tho' the Cowardice of his Men left the Marshal *de Gie* little other Glory, besides that of his Prudence; the *Milanese Gens d'Arms* no sooner perceived with what a fierce Countenance the *French* advanced to meet them, but they immediately made a sudden Halt, and then fled. The best Judges of the Affair greatly commended the Marshal *de Gie*, for not going far in the Pursuit, tho' he was sure of cutting them in Pieces; because, being uncertain how Things went in the Rear, it was most proper to keep his Ground.

This important Action lasted but one Hour, and a much greater Number of the Enemy perished in the Flight than in the Battle; many were drowned in the River,

River, which was much raised by Floods ; their Loss amounting to 3500 Men, among whom were several Persons of Distinction. *Comines* reckons not above 100 Slain on the *French* Side, and *Guicciardin* not 200 ; among which *Julian de Bourneaf*, Captain of the Guard de la Porte, was the only *Frenchman* of Distinction. *Charles*, having obtained this important Victory over the Confederates, who were at least four to one, marched to *Ast*, where he arrived Ast. on the 15th, much harrassed and tired.

From hence he went to *Quiers*, and *Turin*, *Quiers*
where he was solicited by the *Florentine* Am- and
bassadors, for the Restitution of their Towns ; *Turin*.
but, though he ordered them to be given up, the King was so little obeyed, that the commanding Officers presumed to sell them, some to the *Pisans*, and the rest to the *Venetians*.

The Confederates, after the Battle of *Fornovo*, sent Part of their Forces to lay Siege to *Novara* ; where the Duke of *Orleans*, not having made the proper Disposition to sustain it, soon saw himself cooped up on all Sides ; yet he was resolved not to give up the Place : For as the Battle was over, he had some Prospect of being relieved by the King and his Army ; this induced him to make a vigorous Defence. But, as he had entered *Novara* unknown to the King, and had before neglected his Orders, his Majesty did not hurry himself to his Relief, (especially as he had a new Amour in hand at *Quiers*) whereby *Orleans* and his Men endured the extremest Famine. And, if his Intention was to have been revenged on the King, when he stopped in the *Milanese*, it was now returned on his own Head. Be that as it will, after the King's amorous Passion was abated, he began to think of *Orleans*, and came to *Vercal* with a Resolution to relieve him ; and *Charles's* Army encreased every Day, which caused the Enemy to hearken to an Accommodation proposed

by *Orleans*. Whilst the Treaty was carrying on, they permitted the Duke and his whole Garrison, more than half starved, to crawl out of the City for Refreshment, leaving the Care of the Town to the Inhabitants; the Confederates agreeing, that, if the Treaty came to nothing, the Duke should be permitted to put himself into the Castle, which some of his Men had still in their Keeping.

Just as the Treaty was near concluded, there came, unexpected, 16,000 *Swiss* to join the *French* Army. *Orleans*, hearing of this, sent to the King, and earnestly begged him to give the Enemy Battle; which, if gained, would be entirely conquering all the *Milanese*. The Duke had been satisfied in his Desire, had not there been more Apprehensions from the *Swiss* than the Enemy; for, being double the Number of the *French*, they might have seized his Majesty's Person. This Consideration made the King's Counsel think it more expedient to make up Matters with *Ludovic*, and accordingly a Treaty was drawn up, and agreed to by both Parties; to wit, 'That *Charles* should restore *Novara* and the Port ' *de la Spesszin* to *Ludovic*, upon his promising to ' assist the King with a certain Number of Ships and ' Men to be forthwith sent to *Naples*, and also give ' the *French* free Passage thro' his Country, to pay ' his Majesty 80,000 Crowns, to present 50,000 to ' the Duke of *Orleans*, to make Restitution of the ' eight Gallies taken by the *Genoese* at *Rapulo*, and to ' allow the *French* to fit up their Fleets in that Port.'

These Matters being settled, the King was so impatient to be gone, that he would not stay till the Execution of the Treaty, but immediately went to *Lyons*, where he spent his Time in Dancing, Masquerading, and following his Amours; which being observed by *Sforza*, and as the *French* and *Swiss* Armies were returned home, he refused to perform one Article of the Treaty.

Now

Now let us see what Condition the Kingdom of *Naples* was in during these different Transactions. We have before observed, that *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, King of *Naples*, being deprived of his Kingdom, had retired to the Isles of *Ischia*, which lay near the Continent,

A Journal of the War in the Kingdom of Naples, after Charles's Retreat, until the French were expelled out of it.

without any other Hopes, than what were built upon the League formed in favour of him : But, as soon as he knew that *Charles* had Thoughts of returning to *France*, he went from *Ischia* to *Sicily*, whither *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, had sent Vessels and Soldiers, under Pretence, that, the War raging in *Naples*, he was obliged to provide for the Security of his Kingdom of *Sicily*. The General of these Forces was *Gonsalvo*, a great Soldier, who had remarkably distinguished himself against the *Moors* of *Granada*, and whom the *Spaniards* surnamed the *Grand Captain*, as well to signify the absolute Authority the King his Master had given him over the Troops, as his own extraordinary Talent for War.

The King of *France* had hardly left the Kingdom of *Naples*, before *Ferdinand* and *Gonsalvo* came to make a Descent upon *Reggia*, opposite to *Messina* ; the Town was opened to them, and the Castle obliged to surrender after three Days Siege ; their Army consisted of five thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, who were joined by some Troops of the *Canton* they had conquered ; and they made themselves Masters also of *Seminara* and *St. Agatbo*, other Towns of *Calabria*.

D'Aubigny, who commanded for the *French* King in *Calabria*, immediately took the Field, attacked *Gonsalvo* and *Ferdinand*, utterly defeated them, and retook all the Towns, except *Reggia*, whither *Gonsalvo* retreated, but *Ferdinand* returned to *Messina*.

This was a very inauspicious Beginning for King *Ferdinand* ; but he was not discouraged, knowing that his old Subjects began to want him ; and, to make
amends

amends in some measure for this Misfortune, he appeared a few Days after, with a numerous Fleet, before *Salerna* and *Amabis*, and immediately his Colours were displayed upon the Towers of those two Cities, and along the Coast, which gave him great Satisfaction ; but, for want of a sufficient Number of Men, he durst not venture to make a Descent. From thence he went to lay Siege to *Naples*, to see if his Presence would cause any Rising there, which had its Effect in some Places ; but the Duke of *Montpesier* having distributed his Troops, with great Expedition, in the most important Posts, all was quiet.

Scarce had *Ferdinand* set sail for his Return to *Sicily*, when the Chief of his Party in *Naples* sent a Messenger privately in a light Bark, to intreat him to come the next Day, and land as many Troops as he could, to oblige Part of the *French* Soldiers to quit the Town, and promised on their Part to do their Duty.

Ferdinand did not fail to do as they desired, and the Success answered his Wishes ; for the Duke of *Montpesier*, contenting himself with leaving the Castles well fortified, and having very imprudently drawn out all the Forces that he had in the City, to repulse those that *Ferdinand* had landed, the People on a sudden revolted at the Sound of the Alarm, and seized all the Gates and Entrances of the Streets towards the Castles, crying out every where, *God bless Ferdinand !*

The Duke of *Montpesier*, surprized at so sudden a Revolt, gave over all Thoughts of hindering the Descent ; and, as the Gates of the City were in the Possession of the Seditious, he was obliged to take a Round to re-enter the Castle *Novo*. *Ferdinand*, being at Liberty to march forward with his Forces, pursued his Fortune, and advanced to *Naples*, where he entered in a kind of Triumph, with the Acclamations of all the People, *July 7th*, two Days after the Battle of *Fornovo*.

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The Marquis of *Pescaire*, an Officer of great Reputation, had lain by for some time, but had never forsaken his old Master in his Distress, now publickly appeared for him; and took upon him the Command of Part of his Forces; the first Thing he did, was to give Orders to fortify the Town of *Naples* against the Castles, which was so effectually done, that, whenever the *French* endeavoured to make a Sally or Attack, they were constantly repulsed with Loss: Thus they found themselves besieged in the Castles; where, to compleat their Misfortune, they had but little Provision, and much less Forage.

Capua Aversa, the Fortress of *Mondagon*, and some other Places, followed the Example of the Capital, and declared openly for *Ferdinand*; those of *Cajeta* revolted also, but they were disappointed, the Garrison beat the Populace, and sacked the Town.

Some time after the *Venetian* Fleet arrived, and attacked *Monopolis*; which, tho' well defended, was obliged to capitulate; the Castle also surrendered; *Polignano*, another Place upon the Sea-coast, did the same. *Otranto*, *Brindes*, and some other Places on that side were already in *Ferdinand's* Interest; inso-much, that the Lord *de l'Espre*, who commanded for King *Charles* in those Quarters with but few Soldiers, was hard put to it to keep his Ground, and the Duke of *Montpesier* yet more so at *Naples*; who at last capitulated with King *Ferdinand*, to deliver up the Castles in a Month's Time, if he was not relieved. *D'Aubigny* was sick, and could not assist him; but *Percy* was in a better Condition, he attacked and cut in Pieces four thousand of the Count of *Matalona's* Men near *Eboli*. This Action somewhat revived the drooping Spirits of the *French*, and so much disinayed *Ferdinand*, that he had Thoughts of flying once more; and which he had certainly done, had he not been encouraged by the *Neapolitans* and *Colonnas* to stand his Ground. *Percy* proceeded to *Naples*, where he found

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the Enemy's Entrenchments so well guarded, that he could not get near the Castle, and therefore returned to *Nola*.

De Vers, whom *Charles* had made Duke of *Nola*, set out for *France*, in order to report to the King the Condition the Kingdom of *Naples* was in, and to solicit for Succours. The *Florentine* Ambassadors, the Cardinal of *St. Peter's*, and the very *Frenchmen* themselves, that had at first dissuaded the King from this Expedition, unanimously declared, that it now concerned the Honour of the Nation to preserve their Conquest; but Cardinal *Bricconnet*, who had a great Hand in the Affairs of the Government, from what Motive is not certainly known, hindered the rest from acting.

However, the King at last resolved on a new Effort, departed from *Tours*, where he left the Queen his Wife, and went first to *St. Dennis* for Devotion-sake, then to *Lyons*, giving all the necessary Orders for his second Expedition into *Italy*; but, on a sudden, when it was expected he would have passed the Mountains, he returned Post to *Tours*, where one of the Queen's Maids of Honour had, as it were, forcibly attracted him; in short, these grand Preparations at last ended in only sending to *Cajeta* six Vessels, laden with Men and Provisions; so that the *French* Power, from this Time, greatly declined in *Naples*.

The Confederate Forces flocked in on all sides to *Ferdinand*, and spread themselves thro' the different Provinces, on purpose to divide the *French* Forces.

Gonsalvo seized several Towns in *Calabria*; the Duke of *Montpefier* delivered up the Castles according to his Treaty, and marched out with his Forces; he then came to a Resolution to go and join *D' Aubigny* at *Venesa*, (who was then recovered of his Illness) and took *Attella* in the *Basilicate* in his Passage, which was the Cause of his last Misfortune. *Montpefier* was soon followed by *Ferdinand* and *Gonsalvo*, who there so blocked him up, that it was impossible for him

to escape; the *Lansquenets* that he had with him deserted to a Man, and went to the Enemy's Camp; so that he was now forced to capitulate, and surrender both himself and his Army, which was still between five and six thousand strong, together with the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, to *Ferdinand*. This happened about the Middle of *August*.

Ferdinand carried *Montpefier* to *Naples*, which was the most effectual Way to imbitter the Duke's Disgrace, by leading him, as it were, in Triumph into a City, where he had been but a few Months past vested with Regal Authority; nor could any thing be more for *Ferdinand's* Glory, or more capable of obtaining the People's Veneration for him: Yet it was not long that he enjoyed his Prosperity; being seized with a continual Fever, a Dysentary attending, it carried him off in a few Days, and he died, without Issue, at *Soma*, on the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*; his Father *Alphonso* died not a Year before in *Sicily*, at the Monastery of Mount *Olivet*; Don *Fredrick*, *Alphonso's* Brother, and Uncle to *Ferdinand*, was recognized King in his room; so that in less than two Years *Naples* had five Kings, viz. old *Ferdinand*; *Alphonso*, his Son; *Ferdinand*, his Grandson; *Charles*, King of *France*; and, lastly, *Frederick*.

Marshal *D'Aubigny*, *Guerre*, and others, would not obey and comply with the Treaty *Montpefier* had made for delivering up the Kingdom of *Naples*; yet most of the *French* Soldiers were now in a manner worn out in this Country by Sword, Pestilence, &c. These Losses so affected *Montpefier*, that he died of Grief at *Puzzuoli*; and the Confederates pursued the entire Recovery of *Naples* vigorously.

From *Attella*, *Gensalvo* went into *Calabria*, reduced *Mandefrania* and *Cozenza*; and, to compleat all, he besieged *D'Aubigny*, Governor of the Province, then in *Gropoli*, who defended himself so bravely, that he

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obtained honourable Terms, whereby he was allowed to carry his Forces into *France* with Colours flying ; but the Surrender of *Cajeta* was comprehended in the Articles : And, by the Loss of these Places, the *French* were at last entirely dispossessed of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*.

Mizerai (the *French* Historian) concludes his Account of *Charles's* Expedition, and the subsequent Proceedings of the *French*, after his Return into *France*, with observing, ‘ That nothing was left the *French* of this glorious, tho’ sudden, Conquest, but a villanous Disease, which cannot handsomely be named * ; the *Spaniards*, having caught it in the Islands of *Florida*, where it is almost epidemic, brought it into *Naples*, and the Women of that Country communicated it to the *French*.’

Pere Daniel, in summing up his Account of *Charles's* Expedition into *Naples*, says, ‘ Such was the Success of *Charles* the VIIIth’s Enterprize upon the Kingdom of *Naples* ; an Enterprize undertaken with much Imprudence, continued with wonderful Prosperity, which supplied all the Precautions they had neglected to take ; supported with much Valour, and little Conduct, by him who continued charged with it, and at last abandoned shamefully, and, with the Loss of a great Number of brave Men, by the Prince’s want of Application, and perhaps, as some Writers tell us, by the Treachery of the very same Minister that had been the first Author of it, as well as by the Admiral *de Graville’s* Opposition ; who, as he had never approved of the first Expedition, so he continued stiffly to oppose the second, after the King’s Return.’

Before the *French* were absolutely driven out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, not content with having violated the Treaties made with *Charles*,

* Afterwards called the *French Pox* ; but now by most, the *Venereal Disease*.

Charles, and using all Methods to cross this Prince's Designs, by entering into a League against him, and sending *Ferdinand* of *Naples* a Supply of Men and Shipping, caused Incursions to be made into *Langue-doc*, where the Cavalry of *Castile* committed great Outrage; but he had Reason afterwards to repent it; for the Lord *D'Alban*, of *St. Andre*, who commanded the *French* Forces in that Country, having speedily drawn together some Troops and the Militia, not only obliged the *Castilians* to depart within four Days, but also besieged and took *Salsus*, a Town of *Roussillon*, well fortified by its Situation, and carried it by Assault the 10th of *October*, in which forty *Spanish* Gentlemen, and four hundred Soldiers perished. This warm and vigorous Resistance of the *French* made the King of *Spain* lay aside his Design of continuing the War with *France* in those Parts, and a Truce was struck up for two Months.

But the Situation of Affairs was quite otherwise between our Monarch and the Most Christian King, during his *Neapolitan* Expedition; for, after the Treaty of *Estaples*, there was neither War nor Difference between *England* and *France* the Remainder of his Reign; *Charles*, laying hold of all Opportunities to testify his Respect for *Henry*, and punctually paid the 50,000 Livres, by half-yearly Payments, according to the Treaty.

The King of *France*, after he had lost *Naples*, 1497. for the most Part of this Year continued quiet in his Kingdom, where he employed himself in raising a new Army; having so done, and taken a Body of *Swiss* into his Service, the Affair of Recovering *Naples* was brought upon the Carpet. Some of his Council were for his agreeing with *Frederick*, and, in lieu of attempting to recover that Kingdom by Force, to accept of Homage and Tribute. Others proposed to agree with the Pope, who was Lord of the Fief, and first to begin with attacking the *Milanese*, and to give the Conduct of the Whole to *Lewis*, Duke of *Or-*

leans; which last Proposal being approved of, the Army advanced as far as *Ast*; but his Highness refused to accept of the Command, whereby the Expedition was stopped, though several Consultations were held, some Resolutions taken in respect to proceeding on the first Proposal, and several *Italian* Princes strongly solicited his Majesty to pursue the Design, which he promised to do, yet put off his Departure from time to time so long, that the Season was too far advanced, and, other Affairs interfering, the Descent upon *Naples* dropt; and thus ended the Year 1497.

The Beginning of this Year *Charles* took up 1498. his Residence in the Castle of *Amboise*, and diverted himself in carrying on a magnificent Building there, his Thoughts being now intent on leading a quiet and serene Life. He also assiduously turned his Mind towards reforming the State, heard the Complaints of his Subjects, deposed corrupt Judges, studied to restore Justice to its ancient Rules and Methods, to free it from Extortions or Bribes; considered how to lessen the Taxes, and bring them down to 120,000*l.* yearly, which neither should be levied but by the Consent of the Estates, and that upon extraordinary Occasions; and intended to defray the Charges of his Household and other Expences out of the Revenues of his Demesnes, and the antient Duties belonging to the Crown. It is true, these good Intentions came not into Action until he was almost incapable of putting them in Execution; for, before the End of *March* he was taken ill several times; and on the 7th of *April* he came into the Gallery in the Castle, in order to see some Persons play at Tennis, but had not been there long, before he was seized with an Apoplexy, which caused him to fall backwards. The Courtiers and Officers, observing his great Indisposition, laid him on an ordinary Matt near the Place where he fell; in that Condition he remained nine Hours

Hours before he expired, which was about Eleven at Night, tho' at Intervals, recovering his Speech, he cried out, *My God, and the glorious Virgin Mary, St. Claud, and St. Blafs, help me!*

Thus departed this puissant Prince in a miserable State, not being able to recover one poor Chamber to die in, notwithstanding his many Palaces; whereby we see Death levels the King with the Beggar; the Courtiers soon forsook their Prince, left him in a Hurry dead in that wretched Situation, every one being eager to take Horse, in order to carry the first News to his Successor.

Charles lived twenty-seven Years and nine Months, reigned fourteen Years and a half, had three Sons by *Ann of Britany*, who all died young: He shewed much Goodness, Humanity and Courtesy to all; and was Master of such an Evenness of Temper, that he hardly ever ordered a domestick Servant to be dismissed, or treated any of his Subjects with a harsh Word.

Daniel says, 'That his Queen had so deep a Sense of her Loss, that she shed many Tears, and mourned for him in Black, contrary to the wonted Custom; according to which the Widow Queens used to cloath themselves in White; from whence they had the Name of the *White Queens*.'

Lewis, Duke of Orleans, succeeded *Charles* the VIIIth, by the Title of *Lewis* the XIIth. The many Sufferings he had undergone by Imprisonment, Famine, &c. softened his Temper, made him merciful, and taught him Wisdom; he proved the better King, by having been so long a Subject, and had learned to moderate the Severities of sovereign Commands, by having undergone and felt the Weight of them.

Lewis the XIIth, Affairs of France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, and Italy.

He began his Reign in such a Manner as presaged the future Lenity and Happiness of his Administration. Soon after his Coronation he remitted a Tenth of the Taxes,

Taxes, and after that a Third ; he confirmed all the old Officers in their Posts, without any Regard to particular Persons, putting into Practice the noble Maxim he made with relation to *Lewis de la Tremo-ville*, (who had defeated and taken him Prisoner at the Battle of *S. Aubin*, and against whom some would have incensed him) *That it did not become the King of France to revenge the Duke of Orleans's Quarrel.*

The King opened his Reign in making many good Regulations for the Administration of Justice, and Re-establishment of Military Discipline ; and his Majesty took great Pains to see them executed, suppressing at the same time several useless Offices ; and the whole Kingdom soon began to experience the happy Difference, that, generally speaking, there is between a Prince that comes to the Crown at riper Years, already exercised and knowing in Affairs of Government, and a young King that is not only long a learning the Art, but at last discovers it only by the Mistakes he has committed, or been made to commit at the Commencement of his Reign.

Tho' *Lewis* had divers important Affairs to transact both at home and abroad, upon his coming to the Crown, still that did not in the least make him forget to treat the Queen Dowager with all the Honour and Respect she could desire, permitting her to return to *Britanny*, re-enter on the Possession of her Dutchy, and exercise all Acts of Sovereignty, according to the Clauses provided in the Treaty of Marriage, between this Princess and the late King her Spouse.

Notwithstanding this Concession, the King could not think of parting with so fine a Principality without much Reluctance. There was this very extraordinary Clause in the Marriage Contract, between *Charles* and *Ann*, ' That in case of the King her Husband's Death, ' without Issue, *Ann* of *Britanny* should be obliged ' to marry his Successor ; or, if that could not be ' done, then the Princess was to marry the next Heir

‘ to the Crown ;’ for, if the Queen should be espoused to any other Prince, *Britanny* would be dismembered from the Crown of *France*, to the great Loss of that Kingdom, which was the Thing intended to be avoided by the Marriage Articles.

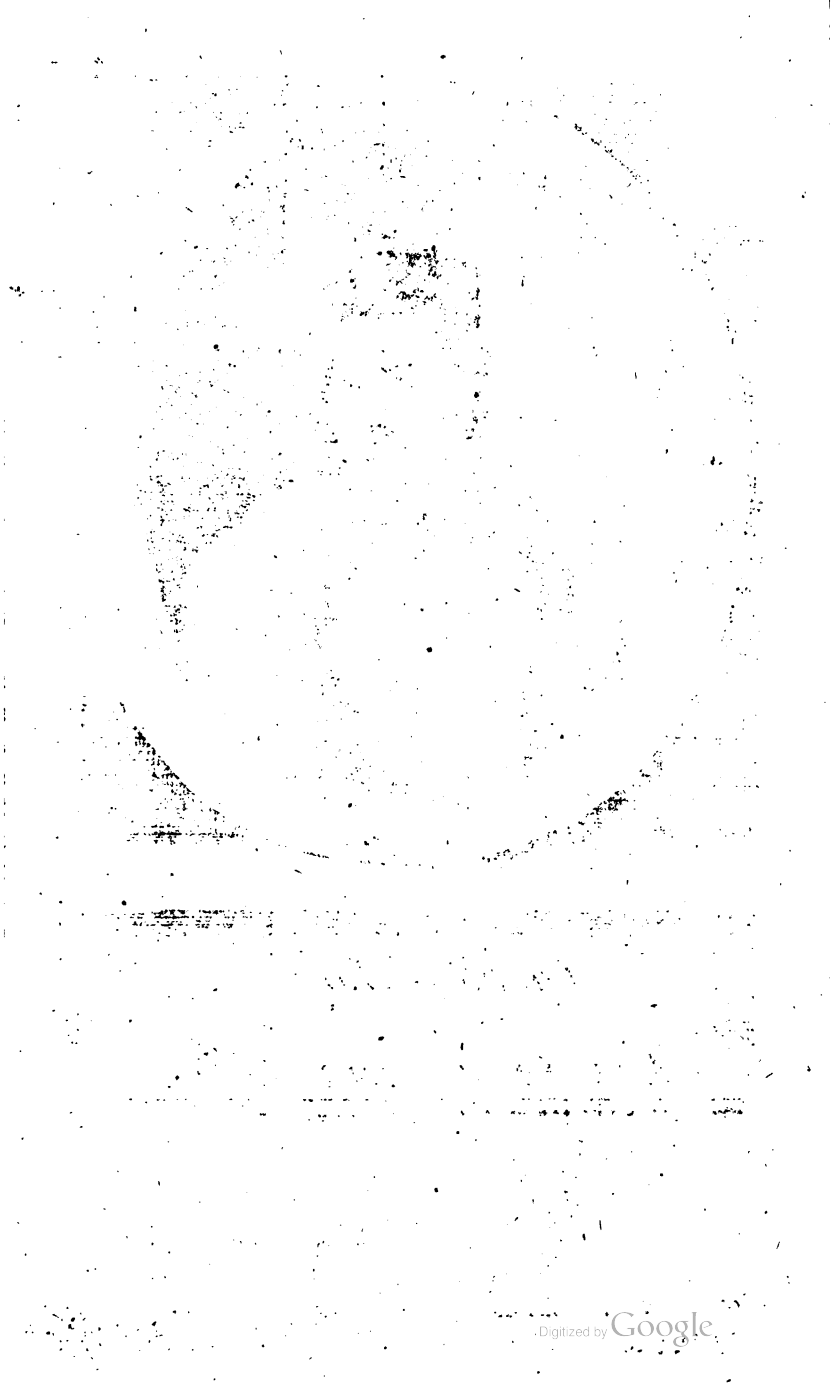
As to *Lewis*, he had been married twenty Years to *Jane* of *France*, Daughter of *Lewis* the XIth ; yet his Thoughts were now taken up to find out a Way to vacate this Marriage, whereby he might be enabled to espouse the Queen Dowager himself. The Method he took to carry this Point was somewhat violent, but such as he insisted was warrantable, alledging, that *Lewis* the XIth had forced him to the Match, when he was but fifteen Years of Age ; that he was under a Necessity of complying, being threatened, on Refusal, with nothing less than a Prison ; that he had privately made a Protest in Form, and declared he would never have any thing to do with her, tho’ outwardly, to avoid the King’s Displeasure, he treated her as a Wife ; that he had made some Steps towards obtaining a Divorce at *Rome* in *Charles*’s Life-time, who was not very well pleased with him for it ; and therefore he did not then think proper to push the Matter any further, because of the Authority which the Dutcheß of *Bourbon*, Sister to *Jane*, had in the Government, The *French* Historians say, ‘ That she was ill-favoured, deformed, infirm, and, according to the general Opinion, incapable of having any Children, which was the Reason that rendered *Lewis* discontented with the Marriage.’

By a Decree of the Council, *Lewis* took the Title of King of *France* and both *Sicilies*, and of Duke of *Milan*, to which Dutchy he with Justice claimed a Right, as being the sole Heir and Successor of *Valentina*, his Grandmother, a Daughter of the illustrious Family of *Visconti*, the true and old Sovereigns of *Milan* ; and therefore *Lewis*, upon his Accession to the Throne, in his Letters which he wrote to the *Italian* Princes,

Princes, solemnly declared, that he designed to undertake an Expedition into *Italy*, in order to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*; and at that Instant the *Florentines* and *Venetians* composed their Differences (which had been subsisting for some time) by the Means of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom they chose Arbitrator.

But, before he proceeded on this Undertaking, he took care to court the Friendship of some of his Neighbours on this side the *Alps*, particularly the King of *England*, and the Arch-duke *Philip*: That of the latter he effectually secured, by delivering up to him the Castles of *Artois* and *Burgundy*, pursuant to the Treaty made with *Charles* the VIIIth; and, in Return, agreeable to the same Treaty, *Philip* did Homage to *Lewis* at *Arras*, bare-headed and ungirt, (in the Presence of *Guy de Rochefort*, Chancellor of *France*) who was covered and sitting in a Chair.

As to the Emperor, tho' he designed to have assisted *Sforza*, he was diverted from it by a War that was kindled against him in *Guelderland*, the Occasion of which was, *Arnold Egmond*, Duke of *Guelderland*, having been very ill treated and even imprisoned by his Son *Adolphus*, found Means not only to obtain his Liberty, but to get his Son confined, thro' the Assistance of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*; for which good Offices, *Egmond*, to shew his Gratitude, agreed to give up his Dutchy to *Charles*, on his advancing him 92,000 Crowns, and allowing him to receive the Revenues during his Life. Accordingly, after *Arnold's* Decease, the Duke of *Burgundy* took Possession of *Guelderland*: But, that Prince also dying soon after, the People of *Guelderland* insisted on having *Adolphus*, then Prisoner in the Castle of *Vitvorden*, delivered up to them; tho' he too was carried off by Sickness in a few Days after he was set at Liberty. Then *Mary* of *Burgundy*, and, after her Decease, *Maximilian* her Spouse, as Guardian





Cesar Borgia

AVT CÆSAR AVT NIHIL



dian to his Son *Philip*, resolved to support, by Force of Arms, their Right to this Dutchy, as making Part of the Dominions of the House of *Burgundy*. Nevertheless, *Charles Egmond*, Son to *Adolphus*, disputed the Possession with them, and maintained himself in the Dukedom, in spite of the Power of the *Austrian* Family, and the Judgment of the Princes of the Empire, who gave it in favour of *Philip*.

Maximilian was now obliged to come to a speedy Accommodation with *Charles*, whereby he held Part of the Dutchy during his Life. The Reason for this sudden Agreement was, the better to enable the Emperor to oppose the *Swiss*, who, about this Time, had made Incursions into the *Austrian* Territories. This War was carried on between them with such Fury, that divers bloody Battles were fought, and not less than 30,000 Men cut off; the Victory sometimes inclined to the one side, and sometimes to the other; in which different Engagements *Maximilian* signalized himself by several glorious Actions; but at last, by the Mediation of divers Princes, he granted them Peace, which was concluded very much to his Honour and Advantage.

Whilst the Emperor was thus employed, *Cæsar Borgia* was not idle, having, with his Father's Assistance, formed great Projects, in order to raise his own Grandeur in *Italy*; and for that End he came to a Resolution to renew with more Warmth than ever a Proposal he had made for marrying the Daughter of *Frederick* King of *Naples*; judging, that, as Things were then quiet, it was the readiest Way of arriving at what he had projected; that, if he could but once get Footing in some Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, as the whole was Feudatory to the Church, he should in a little Time be able to strip his Father-in-law thereof, and get himself made Sovereign, and by Force of Arms, and the Assistance of the

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Pope's

Pope's Spiritual and Temporal Power, maintain Possession thereof. Nor did this Scheme seem impracticable to him, when he considered, that *Frederick* had neither Force nor Friends to support him. In this Attempt *Borgia* was assisted by the Duke of *Milan*, who hoped thereby to secure himself a powerful Friend against *France*.

But King *Frederick*, knowing very well the Nature of these *Syrens*, turned the deaf Ear to the insidious Music with which they endeavoured to allure him, and in particular the Duke of *Milan* sent him a Letter, wherein he represented, 'How prejudicial it might be to his Affairs, if in that critical Conjunction he should irritate the Pope, and perhaps provoke him and *Borgia* to embrace new Measures; and that, as they were already wavering in their Politicks,' twould be too dangerous for him, by refusing his Requests, to provoke the Pope to side with the *French*.' Yet *Frederick* was inflexible; he answered his Letter, and among other Matters set forth, 'That he well foresaw this Danger, but of two Evils it was most adviseable to chuse the less, especially that which was least dishonourable; that, if he was ruined, it should never be attributed to his own Choice, or his personal Misdeeds.'

The Case happened just as the Duke of *Milan* had imagined; for the Pope and his Son, finding they could not obtain what they expected from the King of *Naples*, determined at any Rate to fall in with the *French* Measures. Accordingly his Holiness dispatched two of his trusty Ministers to *France*, under Pretence of condoling with *Lewis* on the Decease of his glorious Predecessor, and to congratulate him on his Accession to the Throne. Compliments were not the End of their Embassy, his Holiness gave them in Commission to ask the King to use his good Offices for promoting a Marriage between his Son *Borgia* and

and *Charlotta de Foix*, Daughter of *Jane*, Queen of *Navarre*, which young Lady then resided at the *French* Court.

These Ministers no sooner made the Request, but *Lewis* granted it, and withal offered to bestow very great Honours on *Borgia*, and give him the Possession of considerable Estates in *France*, provided his Holiness would grant him three Things; which were, first, Security that he would assist him in the Expedition he very soon intended to make into *Italy*: Secondly, grant him a Dispensation for annulling his Marriage with *Jane* his Wife: And lastly, that he would make *George d'Amboise*, Archbishop of *Rohan*, his faithful Servant, a Cardinal. *Alexander* readily consented to what *Lewis* desired, upon a Prospect of establishing that Grandeur to his Family, which he much thirsted after.

His Holiness, to shew that he was very ready to please the King in the second Point, which he so earnestly desired, sent a Commission to certain Commissaries, who were impowered to examine into the Validity of the Marriage; the Protest made at the Time of solemnizing it, and other Reasons for making it void, were produced, and *Jane* herself, eminent for her Sanctity, making no Opposition, the Matrimonial Tye was soon declared null, which was confirmed by a Bull from the Holy See.

This Divorcement made Way for the King's Marriage with *Ann* of *Britanny*, his Predecessor's Queen, whom he had formerly courted; tho' she on her part had loved him, yet did not submit to it without some Scruple; and the Fate of this Princess was singular in this respect, who had been married to *Charles* the VIIIth, on a kind of Divorce from *Maximilian*, whom she had espoused.

The Marriage Articles were respectively signed by both Parties at *Nantz*, and the Nuptial Rites

celebrated with great Solemnity. This grand Affair being effected, *Lewis*, that he might not be behind-hand with his Holiness, in Return for the Favours granted him, dispatched an Ambassador to *Rome*, who was charged with a Commission that got him a very hearty Welcome ; for his Majesty sent by him a Patent for creating *Borgia* Duke of *Valentinois*, a small Town in *Dauphine*, with a proper Revenue annexed to it ; he also granted him an Attendance of one hundred Launces ; and the Ambassador was ordered to request the Pope, to permit *Borgia* to repair to the *French* Court, which the Holy Father joyfully consenting to, and the King sent his State Gallies to *Ostia*, to receive and conduct him into *France*.

These Points being settled, the Ambassador set out in order to embark for *France*, accompanied by the new Duke *Valentinois*, who was attended by some of the chief Lords of the Ecclesiastical State, with an exceeding grand Retinue.

The News of *Borgia's* intended Journey to *France*, and the Friendship lately contracted between the Pope and *Lewis*, greatly alarmed several Princes, particularly *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Spain*, who suggested to themselves, that these Proceedings would not fail of producing Effects very much to their Prejudice. In order, therefore, to hinder as much as possible what might be designed between these two Powers, they dispatched two Ambassadors Extraordinary to the Court of *Rome*, who arrived there before *Borgia* was embarked. Their chief Instructions were to oppose his going into *France*, and to represent, that, if his Holiness suffered him to go there, it might be the Means of disturbing the Tranquillity and Repose of *Italy* ; which he, as their Spiritual Father, was bound to preserve.

The Ambassadors being introduced to his Holiness, at first they humbly intreated him to apply a Remedy,
in

in order to prevent the Disorders that, it was feared, would ensue, in case he did not recall his Consent for *Borgia's* going into *France*.

The Pope, with his wonted Eloquence, set forth,
 ' That it was not by any Means fit to retract what
 ' he had consented to, because that would imply a
 ' Meanness of Soul, and a Want of Judgment; espe-
 ' cially since, having given the King of *France* No-
 ' tice of *Borgia's* Purpose of taking a Journey into
 ' his Country, that Monarch had been so complaisant
 ' to send his Gallies to receive him, and, as he was
 ' on his Journey to embark on board them, there
 ' was no Remedy, he must proceed on his intended
 ' Voyage.' He further added, ' That they had no
 ' Occasion to apprehend any bad Consequence from
 ' his Proceedings, since nothing was designed thereby
 ' to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella's* Prejudice.'

This Answer was no way satisfactory to them; they still persisted in earnestly begging his Holiness to recall his Son; but, finding him inflexible, from Representations, they fell to heavy Accusations, and from Intreaties to Threatnings. Hence Animosity and Contention arose on both sides, mutual Reproaches were thrown out against one another in very smart Language, insomuch that the Ambassadors swore, *Borgia* should repent one Day or other the Resolution he had taken, and the Pope himself be forced to bite his Fingers for Rage; nay, they told him plainly, ' That, while he continued in his present Way of
 ' Thinking, their Master and Mistress would no
 ' more acknowledge him as the common Father of
 ' Christians, since it plainly appeared, that, for ag-
 ' grandizing his Family, he suffered many scanda-
 ' lous Things to be transacted in prejudice to the
 ' Church.'

Alexander

Alexander answered, ‘ He had been elected by God Almighty, and not by Men, to be the Father of Princes, and such he was in spite of Enemies : That it was not becoming the Father’s Dignity to succumb to the Caprices of his Sons, but the Duty of Sons to obey their Father’s Commands ; so that he would never esteem them as lawful Sons, but as Bastards, who should gainsay what he did ? ’ To which one of the Ambassadors replied, ‘ There are Bastards enough already in *Rome*, you need not bring more into the Church.’ At which Words *Alexander* was very much nettled, and in a great Rage told them, ‘ What he had done was right, and was it to be done again, he would do it, in spite of those who dare to oppose it.’ On which he turned his Back and retired abruptly to his Apartment. But the Ambassadors, being as much incensed as the Pope, declared they would not stir till they entered a Protestation by a Notary Publick. Accordingly, without any manner of Respect to the Place where they were, they stamped and stormed about the Room, making no small Clamour ; which the Pope thinking an Insult not to be borne with, bounced again out of his Closet, came up to the Ambassadors, and bid them in a great Fury be gone to their own Country, and protest there, if they thought proper.

Whereupon these Ministers, finding they could obtain no other Answer, returned home. Tho’ King *Ferdinand* at first was very uneasy at the Pope’s Actions, at last he gave himself no further Trouble on that Head, and suffered both his Holiness and *France* to act as they pleased, contenting himself with being a Spectator only, not doubting in the End but to reap some Advantage from their confused Designs, which accordingly he did, as will hereafter be seen.

During

During these Transactions, the *French* Ambassador and *Borgia* continued their Journey; and the Pope gave Orders to the Governors of all Places within the Ecclesiastical Dominions to receive them with the highest Marks of Honour, and to salute them with a triple Discharge of the Artillery from the Ramparts of all the garrisoned Towns, as they passed on, which was punctually performed.

On *Borgia's* Arrival into the *French* Dominions, *Lewis* commanded that he should be every where received with all the Grandeur and Respect imaginable, and that the Guards, as he passed thro' the Towns and Villages in his Kingdom, should meet him without the Gates under Arms; and so great were the Honours paid him, that *Borgia* himself was astonished; for wherever he came there appeared such Multitudes of Soldiers, and Crowds of People, who flocked from all Parts to see him, that, when he arrived at *Chinon*, the Place where the *French* Court then resided, his Domesticks wrote to their Friends at *Rome*, that they had in *France* seen neither Tree, nor Wall, nor Village, but only the Countenances of Men and Women, and the Beams of the Sun.

His Majesty, hearing of the magnificent Train that attended *Borgia*, could not have Patience till his Arrival at Court, but must needs see him before, which he did under Pretence of going out a Hunting, and met him about two Leagues without the City, where he received him with the greatest Tokens of Respect; and, after taking Leave, he returned to his Palace, leaving *Borgia* to make his Publick Entry in such Manner as he pleased.

But as the great Splendor of this Entry is not to be matched in any Histories of *Europe*, and as it almost exceeds common Belief, we shall give the following Account of it from Monsieur *Brantome's* *Memoirs*.

On

On the 18th of *December*, *Cæsar Borgia* made his solemn Entry into *Cbinon*, being preceded by Cardinal *Amboise*, Monsieur de *Ravestein*, the Seneschal of *Tboulouse*, Monsieur de *Cleremont*, and other Gentlemen of the Court, and conducted by them as far as the Entry to the Bridge; before him twenty-four fine Mules were led, loaded with Trunks and Baggage, over which rich Coverings were spread, with the Duke's own Arms embroidered on them. After these came twenty-four others with Coverings of red and yellow Colours, being the King's Livery. Next followed twelve Mules with Sumpter Cloths of yellow Sattin barred cross-ways. After them ten more, with Coverings of Cloth of Gold, having traverse Bars raised and plain alternately, and with them other Mules, amounting to Seventy in Number. Then followed sixteen stately large led Horses, the Caparisons of which were Cloth of Gold, mixed with red and yellow Stripes of different Stuffs, and their Bridles tied to the Genotte or Pummels of the Saddles. After them came eighteen Pages mounted on fine Horses; of these Pages sixteen were cloathed in Crimson Velvet, the other two in Cloth of Gold raised. Next were six other Mules richly accoutred with Saddles, Bridles, and Harnassings, each led by a Groom on Foot dressed in Crimson Velvet, the Furniture of the Mules being of the same Stuff. After them came two other Mules carrying Coffers covered with Cloth of Gold. [‘The Spectators, says our Author, had many Conjectures about what was contained within these Coffers, some judging the Cargoe to be rich Jewels brought thither by the Duke as Presents to his Mistress, others supposed it to be the Pope's Bulls and Indulgences sent from *Rome*, or perhaps some Kinds of Relicts.’] Next to these marched thirty Gentlemen cloathed in Cloth of Gold and Silver. Then came three Minstrels, two Kettle-drums, and a Rebec, which last was an Instrument very much used in those Days; the

the Kettle-drums were apparelled in Cloth of Gold, the Rebec strung with Gold Wire, and the Instruments themselves Silver slung with large Gold Chains. Those Minstrels marched before Duke *Valentino's* Person, (between him and the thirty Gentlemen) sounding their Instruments the whole Way as they passed along, with whom rode Musicians, *viz.* four Trumpets, and the like Number of those who sounded Clarions of Silver. Behind them came up twenty-four Lacquies, dressed in Crimson Velvet, mixed with Stripes of yellow Silk, marching on Foot by way of Guards about the Duke's own Person, with whom rode the Marshal *D'Aubigny*. The Duke was mounted on a stately Horse, adorned with sumptuous Furniture; himself was dressed in a Robe of red Sattin and Cloth of Gold, plentifully beset with costly Diamonds, and large Pearls. Around his Cap, or Ducal Bonnet, were double Rows of Jewels, with six or seven Rubies as large as the bigger kind of Beans; all which reflected a dazzling Lustre on the Beholders: There was a great Number of other precious Stones strewed here and there over all his Apparel, even on his Boots, which were covered with Cordage of Gold Thread twisted, and bordered with Pearls; and about his Neck he wore a Gold Chain worth 30,000 Ducats.

The Horse on which the Duke rode was charged with Foliage of Gold, and covered with Embossments, embellished with Pearls and precious Stones, near which was a Mule, appropriated for his Riding on other Occasions, and which was richly furnished with Bridle, Saddle, and other Accoutrements, embroidered and figured with Roses, about the Breadth of a Finger from one another. To compleat the Whole, there were twenty-four Mules covered with red Sumpter Cloths, on which were the Duke's Arms embroidered; and after them followed a Number

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of Carriages, or rather Chariots, loaded with Baggage and Things belonging to his Person.

In this splendid Manner did *Cæsar Borgia* make his Entry into *Chinon*, where King *Lewis* himself, from the Windows of a House, beheld the whole Pageantry as it passed along, and doubtless, laughing within himself, thought it too great Vanity to be assumed by the *Petit Duc de Valentinois*. In fine, nothing but the Magnificence of the *Asiatick* Princes could have equalled it.

But what was esteemed the most excessive of all, and a Piece of Luxury and Expence never before known in Christendom, was a Number of Horses led in his Train, the Shoes of which, some Authors say, were all Massy Gold, a monstrous Vanity indeed, to cover his Horses Hoofs with a Mettle which graces the Temples, and adorns the Heads of Kings.

The King received *Borgia* in great State, and with all the Honours and Marks of Kindness that he could expect, giving neither him nor the Pope Reason to repent their having sought his Friendship, as by the Sequel will more fully appear.

The Duke had not been four Days at the *French* Court, before his Marriage with *Charlotte de Foix* was celebrated with the utmost Splendor and Magnificence: That being accomplished, the King concluded a Treaty with him, who acted as well on his Father's Behalf, as on his own; the Substance of which was, 'That the King promised to assist in putting the Pope in possession of some Towns in *Romagna*, that had been severed from the Holy See: But this was not to be performed till the Pope had effectually aided *Lewis* in the Conquest of *Milan*.

After *Borgia* had obtained what he proposed from going into *France*, he returned to *Rome* with his Princess, highly satisfied with the kind and generous Treatment he had met with at the *French* Court.

Lewis

Lewis having done thus far, his Thoughts were now wholly taken up with the chief Thing in view, the Conquest of *Milan* and other States of *Italy*, which he claimed as Heir to the Estates of the House of *Orleans*.

Tho' most of the *Italian* Princes were very uneasy at the Friendship contracted between *Alexander* and *Lewis*, yet they were in hopes that the Embarrassment of a new Reign would free them, for some Time at least, from the *French* Arms; and indeed the King would not have been so much in haste to carry the War into *Italy*, had not other Conjunctions, besides the Assistance of the Pope, presented themselves; particularly, the *Venetians* had been for some time at Variance with the Duke of *Milan*, principally owing to that Duke's Ambition, who endeavoured only to aggrandize himself at the Expence of his Neighbours. Nothing could have been more for the *French* King's Advantage, than the Misunderstanding between those two Powers, the Re-union of which lost *Charles* the Kingdom of *Naples*; and with this Event we shall conclude the Year 1498.

His Majesty of *France*, by the different Proceedings we have just mentioned, seemed to have effectually secured the Friendship both of the Pope and his Son; this Point being carried, he next had recourse to the Republick of *Venice*, in order to prevail with that State to declare War against the Duke of *Milan*: Accordingly, the Beginning of this Year, he sent an Ambassador to *Venice*; who had not been long there before *Lewis* heard with Pleasure, that his Minister had concluded a Treaty with the Republick against the Duke of *Milan*, which was afterwards signed by the King at *Blois*, April 15th. By which the *Venetians* were to have for their Share of the *Milanese* all the Towns beyond the River *Adda*, and the *French* to have those on this side that River.

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In fine, the *Venetians* shewed great Joy upon the Conclusion of this Treaty, hoping in the End to possess themselves of that Part of the Dutchy (which the *French* King was to have) either by Purchase, or on his losing it by ill Government, as it had happened before in the like Case : But in this they were mistaken, and soon afterwards found the Observation too true, ' That, as to Princes and Estates, the next Neighbour being an Enemy, the more potent, the more dangerous.'

The Season for Action being now come, *Lewis* set out on his Expedition, but before that, he obtained Leave of the Duke of *Savoy*, for his Army to pass thro' his Dominions ; and, to make every thing more secure, he entered into a new offensive and defensive League with the *Swiss* Cantons, in which they expressly declared, ' That they had no Alliance with *Ludovic*, and owned the King's Title of Duke of *Milan*.'

After all these Negotiations, the raising Forces, and other Preparations in *France* took up some Time, which could not but give the Duke of *Milan* a great deal of Uneasiness, as he found the Whole was levelled against him : He sought every where for Support and Protection, but in vain, for even the Emperor failed him ; and, instead of assisting *Ludovic*, he concluded a Truce with *France*. This he was induced to do, in order to keep the *French* from aiding the *Swiss* in the War we have been speaking of, which he had just ended with these People. Poor *Ludovic* then would gladly have been reconciled to the *Venetians*, and therefore made them several very advantageous Proposals, but it was too late, they turned a deaf Ear to every Thing he said or proposed ; so that the Time seemed to be now come for bringing him to Justice for his enormous Crimes.

Duke *Ludovic* had only one Prince that was disposed to serve him, which was *Frederick*, King of *Naples*,

ples, but he was chiefly so for his own Security, the Interest of the one being almost in common with that of the other, for the Conquest of the *Milanese* was only an Introduction to that of *Naples*: Tho' *Ludovic* was unhappy in that Quarter too, for *Frederick* was poor, and unable effectually to assist him, without instantly exposing his own Dominions to danger; and, as they both found they had no Friends among the Christian Princes, they had recourse to the Assistance of *Bajazet*, the Emperor of the *Turks*, and accordingly prevailed on that Monarch to declare War against the Republick of *Venice*, thinking that that would so fully employ the *Venetians*, as to hinder them from putting their Design upon *Milan* in Execution.

The *Venetians* lost no Time; they not only provided sufficient Forces to ward off the *Turkish* War, but soon drew together a large Army in *Breslau*, on the Frontiers of the *Milanese*, whilst that of *France* increased in the *Astisan*, *Sforza* being informed what those two Powers were aiming at, and finding himself unable to wage War against both of them, his last Refuge was to furnish his Garrisons, and delay the War as much as possible, in hopes that some happy Conjunction might turn out in his Favour.

He had actually on Foot 2000 Men at Arms, 2000 Light Horse, 14,000 Foot, and a large Train of Artillery, which he divided into two Bodies, giving the Command of one to the Count *de Cajazza*, who marched to *Breslau*, to put a Stop to the Attempts of the *Venetians*; and the other, which was much more numerous, to *Galeazzo* of *St. Severin*, to make head against the *French*; and took upon himself the Defence of the City of *Milan*.

The *French* Army passed the *Alps* about the End of *July*, under the Command of *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, Count *de Ligni*, *Robert Stuart*, Marshal *D'Aubigny*, and *Jabu James Trivulca*, and the King kept himself

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is readinefs to join them with other Regiments, fpreading a Report that he was going in Perfon.

If the Duke of * *Milan* had been faithfully ferved by his Generals and the Governors of his Towns, he had given fo good Orders, and taken fuch proper Meafures, that, notwithstanding the great Superiority of the Forces againft him, the *French* and *Venetians* would have been hard put to it to have penetrated far into his Country, and in all probability their Campaign would have ended with only taking fome few Places upon the Frontiers ; but the Cowardice of fome of the Commanders, and the Treachery of others haftened his Ruin. Several Fortreffes, capable of refifting the Enemy, furrendered immediately ; *Valencia* was delivered up to *Trivulca* by the Governor ; *Tortona* opened its Gates at the firft Summons ; *Alexandria*, the ftrongeft Town in the whole Dutchy, except *Milan*, hardly held out at all, owing to the Count *de Cajazza*, who betrayed his Mafter, and foon after entered into the *French* Service, which fpread a Confternation throughout the *Milaneft*.

Then

* The Dutchy of *Milan* lieth in the Eaft, *Mantua* and *Parma* in the Weft, *Piedmont*, and fome Part of *Switzerland*, one of the Provinces of the *Alps*, in the North, and on the South Part the *Apennine*, which parts it from the Republick of *Genoa*. The Revenue is computed at above a Million of Ducats ; in which are one Archbifhop, and fix Bifhops. This Dutchy, with other States of *Italy*, are now enjoyed by the prefent Queen of *Hungary* ; and tho' large Kingdoms and Provinces came to the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, in Right of his Mother, Time has fo altered the Cafe, that, by the

Death of the Emperor *Charles* the VIth, without Ifsue Male, the *Auftrian* Family is now centered in the Female Line ; and, by Virtue of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, the Kingdoms and Territories the Emperor poffeffed at his Death (fave the Empire) are defcended to the faid Queen, his eldeft Daughter ; and which Princess, before her Father's Death, married the Duke of *Lorain*, who furrendred up his antient Dominions to the *French* for *Tufcany*, &c. and is now titled Great Duke of *Tufcany*, and her *Hungarian* Majefty was, Mar. 2, 1741, delivered of a Prince, entitled the *Arch-duke*.

Then the *French* Generals advanced to *Mortara*, whither the Inhabitants of *Pavia* came to capitulate, and surrendered up their City; most of the other Towns revolted, and received the *French* Army; and even *Milan* itself held out but a very little Time. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, advancing to the *Cremonois*, made themselves Masters of several Places about the *Adda*.

Wretched *Ludovic*, finding his Condition desperate, and that his own Subjects were in the Interest of his Enemies, saw it was in vain to contend, quitted the Dutchy with his Family, *September* 2d, and escaped to *Inspruck*, having only the Castle of *Milan*, and a few Towns left. This Fortrefs he committed to the Care of *Bernardino de Corté*, and stored it with all Things necessary to sustain a long Siege, and, to encourage him therein, he promised to return speedily with Succours that he did not doubt of raising in *Germany*.

But, as soon as *Ludovic's* Retreat was known, most of the remaining Towns, that had stood out for their Sovereign, offered to receive the *French*; so that they had nothing to do but to take Possession wherever they came. The Inhabitants of *Cremona*, observing the Disposition of their Fellow-subjects, offered likewise to surrender to them, which they refused to accept of, because the *Venetians*, by the Treaty, were to have that Part of the Country.

Bernardino de Corté soon forgot his Master, and delivered up the Castle of *Milan*, without so much as a Discharge of the Cannon, having sold the Place for Money.

Miserai says, 'That *Bernard's* Treachery appeared ugly, nay, even horrible to the very Purchasers, and which loaded and cloathed the Seller with so much Shame, that he died with it about ten or twelve Days afterwards.'

In short, this great Conquest took up but twenty Days,

Genoa,

Genoa, * on this sudden Change of Affairs, sent Deputies with the Keys of their City to Count *de Ligni*, and submitted to *Lewis* the XIIth.

The King, during this Flow of Fortune, remained at *Lyons*, and, notwithstanding all the Care and Provision that he had made, in order to succeed in this Expedition, he could not reasonably expect so sudden a Conquest. As soon as he heard of the Surrender of the Castle of *Milan*, he went immediately to that City, and made a Publick Entry into it, *October* 14th, in a Ducal Habit, and staid there about three Months, which Time he employed in regulating the Affairs of the State; he took off a fourth Part of their Imposts; allowed Liberty of Hunting to the Nobles, which they had not before; and, thinking to make them more affectionate to his Service, he distributed a considerable Part of his Demesnes amongst them, particularly to *Trivulca*, one of his Generals, who he also made Governor of the Dutchy; and that of the Castle he gave to the *Baron d'Espi*; the Command of *Genoa* to the Lord *Ravestein*; and the other Towns belonging to those States he committed to Officers of known Valour and Fidelity.

Still it was a Matter of Surprize, that he trusted the Government of *Milan* to *Trivulca*, not that his Fidelity was to be questioned, but because he was of a fierce, haughty, and violent Spirit, Qualities very improper

* *Genoa* lies West of *Tuscany*, from which it is divided by the River *Macra*. The Women here are privileged above all *Italy*, having Liberty to talk with the Men, and to be freely courted by them. From hence, and for some other Reasons, it has become a Proverb of this State, *Mountains without Wood, Seas without Fish, Men without Faith, and Women without Shame*. It is governed by a Duke with eight As-

sistants, all subject to a General Council of 400 Men. It has one Archbishop, fourteen Bishops, and is now a free Republick. They are great Remitters of Money to different Parts of the World, and of late Years have been the King of *Spain's* Bankers. It is said of *Lombardy*, which *Genoa* is part, (together with *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and other States) *That as Italy is the Garden of Europe, so Lombardy is the Garden of Italy*.

proper to cement a new Government, and by which he soon made himself odious to the People of *Milan*.

All the Princes of *Italy*, except *Frederick*, congratulated *Lewis* on his good Success, and the *Florentines* * proposed to assist him in the Conquest of *Naples*; on Condition he would aid them to recover *Pisa*.

In order thereto, before *Lewis* left *Milan*, he gave Directions for part of his Troops to march under the Command of the Lord *Beaumont* to join the *Florentines* in subduing that City; these Forces accordingly set down before the Place, and made no less than three Assaults against it, and were as often beat off. The *French* finding the *Florentines* very remiss in supplying them with Provision, and seeing nothing before them but Stone Walls and Famine, *Beaumont*, without further Ceremony, drew off his Party, and returned to *Milan*.

But the Success, which attended *Lewis* in this Expedition against *Milan*, was by no means pleasing to *Maximilian*; he all of a sudden changed his Note, and gave out, that he would assist *Ludovic* with a considerable Body of his Forces, in order to recover back his lost Dominions; and indefatigably laboured to raise up all the Princes of the Empire against *France*, by causing formal Representations to be made to those Princes; wherein he set forth the vast Ambition of the *French* King, the great Injury he had done the Empire in seizing on *Milan*, and that he designed nothing less, than to get Possession of all

F f

Italy;

* The Dukedom of *Florence*, or the Estate of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, as it is now called, is divided in the East from St *Peter's* Patrimony. The Length of this State is 260 Miles, the Breadth in some Places much inferior; the Revenues are very great, and here are three Arch-

bishops, and twenty-six Bishops. This Great Duke is in all his Dominions supreme and absolute Lord, and imposes what Taxes and Gables he pleases on his Subjects. The Territories of *Florence* and *Pisa* are called the *Old State*, and that of *Sienno* the *New State*.

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Italy: And the Sequel will shew what became of this mighty Stir.

Now to attend *Borgia*: Soon after he arrived at *Rome* he acted his Part, the Pope supplying him with vast Sums of Money, and, having imprisoned those of the Family of *Sforza* that remained and fell into his Hands, he made himself Master of all the Cities of *La Romagna*, except *Bologna*, and banished or murdered their antient Lords.

He seized upon *Forli* and *Imola*, and caused the poor young *Riari*, their Lords, to fly for Safety into distant Countries, and took *Catherine*, their Mother, and sent her in Disgrace to *Rome*: From thence he passed to *Faenza*, which City he took by Force, and put to Death *Astor Manfredi*, its Lord; he did the same by *Armino* and *Pesaro*, forcing *Malatesta* and *John Sforza* to fly, in order to avoid the Cruelty they were sure to undergo; then he besieged *Siniguglia*, and took it by Force, committing infinite Acts of Inhumanity.

With the same Course of Depredations, by Craft and Blood, his main Instruments thro' his whole Proceedings, he deprived *Montefeltri* of the Duchy of *Urbino*, making him fly to *Mantua*. Then he led his *Banditti* against the City of *Camerino*, which he took, and put to death *Giulio Cesare* and *Varani* in a most cruel Manner, who had been long in Possession of it; and at last fell to persecuting all the neighbouring Princes: After he had so done, he must needs return home, to give his Father an Account of his Actions, which was so acceptable, that nothing would do but another Publick Entry: And

Valentinois entered *Rome* with a magnificent Attendance. As he passed by the Castle of *St. Angelo*, such Honours were paid him as never were known before, the whole Garrison being ordered to stand under Arms as he passed along. On the Walls and Ramparts were placed Ensigns and Colours flying,

on which were painted Representations of his great Exploits, as so many History Pieces of his vast Heroism ; at the same time there were not only a triple Discharge of the Artillery, but musical Instruments of several sorts sounded from the Forts : And, to heighten the Grandeur, *Cæsar* caused a Tower of his own Invention to be erected near the Castle of *St. Angelo*, in which were displayed many other Trophies, in order to shew him invincible. Thus the triumphant Duke marched in State to the Vatican, from the Balcony of which old *Alexander* fed his Eyes with the Pomp and Splendor of his Son's Entry. As soon as he came to the Portico of *St. Peter's*, his Holiness retired to the Chamber *del Papagallo*, where he had appointed to give *Borgia* a publick Audience. Thither *Alexander* ordered to be brought five Cushions of Gold Brocade, one was placed on the Throne, where himself was seated, another under his Feet, and three others were laid in order near the Foot-stool of the Throne ; then the Doors of the Apartment were thrown open, at which the Foreign Ministers, with the chief Nobility and Generals of the Army, were allowed to enter : The Pope being ready to receive his Son, *Borgia* entered the Chamber of Audience between two Cardinals ; and on his Approach to the Papal Throne he bowed very low, and kneeled ; after which, Silence being commanded, he made the following Speech :

‘ Here am I come, Holy Father, with dutiful Reverence, and the highest Marks of Affection, to kiss
 ‘ the Feet of your Holiness, and to render Thanks
 ‘ for the Honours and Favours bestowed on me, in my
 ‘ Absence from your Person, tho’ I believe not from
 ‘ your Heart. I assure your Holiness, that on account of these and many others, as I have hitherto
 ‘ declared myself an obedient Son of the Church, and
 ‘ under many Obligations to her, so shall I always
 ‘ endeavour to give Proofs of my Gratitude for the
 F f 2 ‘ same,

‘ same, by employing my whole Life in the Service of the Holy See and this sacred College, of which I glory in the Remembrance of having been once a Brother.’ To which the Pope answered,

‘ The Effects of your praise-worthy Actions have always been acceptable to us, as is the agreeable Assurance you now give in Words of your future Fidelity in our Service, which we accept as a Pledge for so doing. On our Part, as Compensation for the same, we promise to reward you with new Honours and Favours; for the Holy See wants not Dominions and Riches to make her great, but Princes, who shall acknowledge their own Greatness, as proceeding from her, that so they may the better procure a Veneration for her from others; such a one we will you to be, and accordingly shall furnish you with Assistance for that End, in spite of those who seem less dutiful, in proportion as their Obligations to us are the greater.’

After this *Valentino* kissed both the Pope’s Feet, and his Hands and Mouth, and then the Ambassadors and the rest of the Nobility were permitted to touch with their Lips the Cross on his Holiness’s Slipper.

His Holiness did not forget to perform what he had promised in his Answer to his Son’s Speech, and accordingly granted him such Favours as he requested. This, joined with the Success which had lately attended him, so puffed up the Duke, that he imagined himself inferior to none of the *Cæsars* among the *Romans*. Accordingly he assumed the Motto, *Aut Cæsar, aut nihil*; and in the great Market-place, *Navona*, he ordered a Representation of the Triumphs of *Julius Cæsar* to be made with twelve very grand Chariots, nobly adorned with Trophies after the Manner of the Antients, wherein, in the last of those Chariots he rode, dressed in so pompous a Manner, and with such a vast Number of Attendants on Foot, that nothing could represent one

of their Triumphs better, which was as near to the Description, that the *Latin* Authors give thereof, as can possibly be imagined.

But *Borgia's* Sun-shine of good Fortune was soon shaded, by his next Train of Proceedings. He had not been long in *Rome* before he turned his Rage upon the chiefeſt Families there, beginning with the noble Family of the *Gaetani*, who were in Poſſeſſion of great Eſtates in the Country of the *Volai*, putting to death *Honorato* and *Cola Gaetani*; next he fell upon the *Colonna's* Family, and, having diſpoſſeſſed them of their Lands, forced them to fly to *Sicily*, where they were received with great Reſpect; but, thinking to do the ſame to the *Urſini*, he was diſappointed; for they, having entered into a League with other Princes, and raiſed an Army for their Defence, encountered *Borgia*, entirely defeated him, and ſoon forced this bloody-minded Prince to fly, in his Turn, to *Imola*; where the Pope, being ſurprized at this unexpected Diſaſter, had recourſe to his old Refuge, Diſſimulation, offering the Confederates ſuch Conditions that they themſelves, ſucceſſful as they were, could hardly expect; and, having thus lulled them aſleep, and made them lay down their Arms, in the mean while perfidious *Borgia* recovered himſelf, got a new Army, fell upon them moſt cruelly, put ſome to death, others he baniſhed, and, in a Word, uſed all the barbarous Means his wicked Heart could invent to effect their Deſtruction.

The Revenues of the Church * not being ſufficient to maintain *Cæſar Borgia's* Army, and the Expences of his Court, *Alexander* made a new College of fourſcore

* The Lands of the Church, or the Pope's Dominions in *Italy*, lie Weſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*, extend North and South from the *Adriatic* to the *Tuſcan* Seas; they lie in the middle of

Italy, having in Breadth, from one Sea to another, above one hundred Miles, and in Length above three hundred Miles. The Archbiſhops here are no leſs than 44, and Biſhops 57.

score Writers of Briefs, selling every Place for 250 Crowns of Gold, and received even into *Rome* some of those *Moors* that the King of *Spain* had driven out of his Dominions, who, to enjoy their Liberty, gave him great Sums of Money; and, all this being too little, he sold divers Cardinals Caps, and at last came to the Resolution of dispatching by Poison the richest Prelates of his Court, and amongst them some very rich Cardinals, whose Estates he intended to make himself Master of, in order to satiate the inhuman Greediness of his Son. All this while the old Debauchee, the Father, was taking his Delight in the Arms of the famous Courtesan before spoken of; at the same time receiving the News of his Son's Cruelties with the utmost Joy and Satisfaction: But, before *Alexander* could put his direful Scheme in Execution, the Year 1499 expired, and the ensuing Year the Pope was otherwise employed.

*Further Account
of the Affairs of
England and
Scotland, 1500.*

Let us now return home, speak of the *English* Affairs, and open the Year 1500, which proved fatal to two Archbishops and three Bishops in *England*, who all died in a little Time of each other, namely,

1. *Thomas Rotherham*, Archbishop of *York*, died at his Palace of *Carwood*, in the Month of *May*, aged 76, and was buried in a Marble Tomb in the Cathedral at *York*. This great Prelate, generally called *Scot*, was educated at *Rotberam* in *Yorkshire*, and from thence removed to *King's College* in *Cambridge*, where in proper Time he was made one of the Fellows of the College, then Chaplain to King *Edward* the IVth, and Keeper of the Privy Seal; afterwards Bishop of *Rocheſter*, from thence translated to *Lincoln*, and there he continued nine Years; being esteemed a Man of great Wisdom, King *Edward* also preferred him to the high Office of Lord Chancellor, (which he enjoyed

ed till that King's Death) and, lastly, to the Archbishoprick of *York*: He erected a College at *Rotherham*, and dedicated it to the Name of *Jesus*, which consisted of a Provost, five Priests, six Choristers, three Schoolmasters, one for singing, a second for Grammar, and a third for Writing: He gave a rich Mitre to the Church of *York*, was at great Expences in repairing and beautifying the different Palaces belonging to his See. *Thomas Savage*, Bishop of *London*, succeeded him, whereupon Dr. *William Warham* was promoted to *London* in his stead. This last-mentioned Prelate was now greatly in Favour with the King.

2. *John Alcock*, Bishop of *Ely*, died also in the Month of *May*, and was succeeded by *Richard Redman Alcock*. Finding the Monastery of *St. Redigond* was deserted by the Nuns, and run to Ruin, he converted it into a College about the Year 1446; he also laid out great Sums of Money in new Buildings, both at his Palaces in *London* and in the Country.

3. *John Morton*, Cardinal, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord High Chancellor, and Prime Minister to King *Henry* the VIIth, died at *Knoll* the 16th of *October*, who was Son of *Andrew Morton*, of *St. Andrew's, Milbourn* in *Dorsetshire*, and educated first at *Corn Abbey*, then at *Baliol College, Oxford*, where he commenced Doctor of Laws, Anno 1446, and was that Year Vice-chancellor of the University, and Moderator of the Civil Law School. Anno 1453 he became Head of *Peckwater-inn*, afterwards Advocate in the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury*, and, being taken notice of by Archbishop *Bourchier*, he was made Prebendary of *Fordington* and *Watbrington* in *Sarum*; then, applying himself to Court, he grew in Favour with K. *Edward* the IVth, who preferred him to be Master of the Rolls in 1473, being also at that time Rector of *St. Dunstan's* in the West: In 1474 he was created Archdeacon of *Winchester*, and, on the Death of *William Gray*, elected Bishop of *Ely*, the 8th of *Aug.* 1478. This

great and renowned Prelate and Statesman, by his Will gave ‘ To his Church of *Ely* a most valuable Crozier; and a Silver Mitre gilt ; founded a Chantry in the Church of *Beor*, and left Exhibitions to be divided between twenty poor Scholars in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. To his Church of *Canterbury* he was a very great Benefactor, presenting it with eighty Copes for Priests, Deacons, and Sub-deacons, richly embroidered with Gold, with this Motto wrought in them, *Deo fit gratiarum actio* ; he likewise gave a Hearse-cloth of black Bisse embroidered with Gold, and was at great Expence in partly building the Lanthorn-tower in the middle of the Church.’ His Grace built great Part of *Lambeth* Palace, besides laying out large Sums in repairing the other Palaces belonging to his See, which were very much decayed ; and intended further Acts of Munificence, had he not been prevented by Death in a good old Age. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, where a magnificent Shrine is erected to his Memory, and succeeded by Dr. *Dean*, Bishop of *Bangor*.

Historians agree, that Cardinal *Morton* was a wise Man, and an excellent Orator, tho’ morose and haughty in his Nature, but much admired and applauded by the King. ‘ It may be for this Reason only, says one of them, ‘ that he was envied by the Nobility, and hated by the People, who seldom or ever love a Favourite.’

On the other hand, it has been justly observed by a learned Gentleman, ‘ That Power, without Politeness and Complacency, is at best distasteful, often hated ; amiable when it knows how to condescend. It is thus that Men in high Stations avoid Envy from such as stand below them ; he who cannot rise to their Heighth, finds a sort of Retaliation, and Amends in their coming down to him. No Man is pleased with a Behaviour that renders him contemptible. To make us think well of ourselves, by another’s shewing us we are well thought of by him;

him, is a generous and artful Civility, a Lesson which stately and rebuking Men want to learn. A mean Man of great Quality and Figure (for such Incongruities we often meet with) teaches others to scorn him, by his shewing he scorns them. Affability therefore, accompanied with good Sense, which always guards it from exceeding, is the Art of keeping great Splendor from growing offensive to the rest of the World.'

These Sentiments are certainly very pithy and just. Tho' several Objections were raised both against the Cardinal and his Administration, it is allowed by his Enemies, that (*Empson* and *Dudley*, who the King employed after his Death, continuing such a Scene of Oppression) the People in general wished *Morton* alive again: They then saw, when it was too late, the Difference between a Minister who attempered the King's Nature, and kept him as much as he could from extorting Money of his Subjects, and from those whose only Study it was to devise new Ways for raising Loans, without respect to Persons.

Thus observes the above Author, 'That Men do not easily discern good Qualities and Intentions in one to whom they do not wish well. All Men, even those of the most unexceptionable Characters, are apt to form their Judgment over-hastily, when their Passions are warmed; and from this Cause it has often proceeded, that the inevitable Misfortunes of Times and Accidents have been charged upon such, whose Interest and Study it was to prevent them. This is one of the Evils and Uneasinesses inseparably attending every Administration. When a State is under heavy Burthens and Difficulties, the Means to support it will be almost always proportionably heavy: And as whatever proves heavy, however necessary, is easily called Oppression; so

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the

‘ the Hand which administers a Remedy may, meerly
 ‘ because it is felt, be as easily stiled oppressive.’

4. *Thomas Juan*, Bishop of *Norwich*, died on the 2d of *November*; but we do not find any Thing remarkable in relation to this Prelate, who was succeeded in his See by *Richard Nieu*.

5. *Thomas Langton*, Bishop of *Winchester*, also died in this Month: The chief Present he made to the Church was a fine Silver Cup gilt, with a *Latin* Inscription, weighing sixty-seven Ounces; and he was succeeded by that great Divine and Statesman, *Fox*, then Bishop of *Durham*.

Lord Dawbeney, Lord High Treasurer, also died in *December* following, and was succeeded by the Earl of *Surry*, who was then got so greatly in the King's Esteem, that there arose an Emulation between this Nobleman and Bishop *Fox*, which should gain most the King's Favour.

The Loss of these Prelates, and a Lord High Treasurer were not the only Misfortunes that attended *England* this Year; for we find two others, the one was the burning down the Palace of *Sheine*, situate on the Bank of the *Thames*, in which a large Quantity of rich Furniture was consumed; but the King soon raised a magnificent one out of its Ruins, and gave it the Name of *Richmond*, from the Honour of that Name in *Yorkshire*, with which, when Prince, he was invested. This Palace *Henry* the VIIIth gave *Wolsey* for his Residence, on the Cardinal's presenting his Majesty with that noble Structure he had built at *Hampton-court*.

There is now little more of the old Palace remaining, than what is inhabited by a most accomplished Nobleman, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, and *Lewis Way*, Esq; and a Gate-way, over which still appears the Arms of *England*. The fine Green before it was railed in at the Expence of the late renowned Queen *Caroline*.

Here





To the Right Honorable
 This Plate is humbly Inscr. Servant
 the delin. A. Parr Esq.

Here it was that the most noble Prince *Edward* the IId died of Grief, for the Loss of his warlike Son, which was such an Affliction to him, as was not to be conquered even by Consolation itself: And indeed *England* had just Occasion to sorrow; for, in the Space of one Year, it was entirely bereaved of its two great Masters in Military Discipline and untainted Valour; both these Princes carried their conquering Swords thro' *France*, and left such a Terror in that Kingdom, as might deservedly give the Father, with *Antrochus*, the Name of *Thunderbolt*, and the Son, with *Pyrrhus*, that of an *Eagle*.

In this Place was interred *Ann*, Wife of King *Richard* the IId, Sister to *Weazelaus* the Emperor, and Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the IVth. She was the first that taught the *English* Women the Way of Riding on Horseback that is now in Use, their Custom before being to ride a-stride, like the Men, Her Husband laid her Death so much to heart, and mourned so immoderately, that he even abhorred and abandoned the House: But *Henry* the Vth took a Liking to it, and beautified the Palace with new Buildings, so that *Henry* the VIIth received it in a flourishing Condition.

Concerning this Palace and the River of *Thames*, take the following Verses out of the *Wedding of the Thame and Isis*.

Now stately Richmond to the Right is seen,
Richmond, whose Name wise Henry chang'd from
Sheine,
Who Richmond's Earl had by his Father been.
Long this our Hector Edward's Fate hath mourn'd,
Whose Godlike Soul from hence to Heaven return'd
And left the mortal Fetters that it scorn'd.
Ah! had not the blest'd Powers thee call'd too soon,
Or Valois had resign'd the Gallic Crown,
Or that had Valois lost.

Again,

* *Here Thames great Current, with alternate Course,
Maintains its Rise and Fall at constant Hours ;
When Phoebe rests at our Meridian Line,
Or i'th' Horizon Point does faintly shine,
In hasty Waves the rushing Waters join.
While the proud River thus her Worth proclaims,
Great Thou that Europe boasts her noblest Streams,
Yield all to me for such an Ebb and Flow,
No rival Flood but Scheld and Elb can show.*

But

* At *Richmond*. This Place was properly called *Sbeine*, which in the Saxon Tongue signifies *bright or shining*, it being so beautifully situated on the lofty Bank of the Silver *Thames*, whereon the Sun extending his glorious Rays, the Reflection of them advances to the Town. Our Monarchs often retired hither, from the Fatigues of the Court, to regale themselves with various Pleasures, especially that of Hunting in the spacious Park adjoining thereto, (in which Sir *Robert Walpole* has lately built a beautiful Lodge) so well stocked with Game as not to be excelled by any one in the Kingdom.

In King *William* the III'd's Time his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* bought Part of the Ground that belonged to the old Palace, on which he founded and almost finished a noble House ; but in the first of King *George* the Ist, the Duke being unfortunately attainted, the Estate descended to the Earl of *Arden*, who sold it to the Crown, and by his present Majesty was conferred on his late Queen in Parliament, at whose Expence it has been made compleat, being augmented with

Buildings, and sundry Parcels of Ground purchased to enlarge the Gardens, Park, &c. all curiously (and at no small Expence) adorned in so delightful a Manner, as renders it second to none in the Nation.

King *Henry* the Vth adjoined to this Palace a religious House of *Carthusian* Monks, out of which probably that Resemblance of Antiquity, called the *Hermitage*, was built by his present Majesty.

The Gardens are beautified with Visto's, Grotto's, Walks, Groves, Arbours, Statues, &c. At a Distance you view the Park, Fields, River, and City ; at a remoter Prospect, the Country all round, which makes it one of the most delectable Places in *Great Britain*. Near to this stands *Kew* Palace, the Seat of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, a compleat Residence, very beautiful in its Situation, Gardens, &c. all laid out at his Highness's Expence, and affords a pleasant Prospect of the River and the opposite Country.

On the Green, Hill, and in several Parts of the Parish are many fine Houses, inhabited by Sir *John*

But to return : The other Misfortune, which attended *England*, was of worse Consequence to the People, being that of the Plague raging in divers Parts, which carried off abundance of the Inhabitants,

This

John Buchworth, Bart. *Charles Selwin*, Esq; *Stephen Child*, Esq; *George Smith*, Esq; *William Cary*, Esq; *Abraham Cropp*, Esq; *Thomas Gardiner*, Esq; *John Dorrell*, Esq; *Edward Sanderfon*, Esq; *Henry Gaultier*, Esq; *Abraham Joseph de Cappidocia*, Esq; *Abraham Levi*, Esq; *William Gough*, Esq; *John Knapp*, Esq; *Henry Lassells*, Esq; *Alexander Ouchterlony*, Esq; Dr. *Cox*, Colonel *Johnson*, Mr. *Big-nell*, Mr. *Black*, Mr. *Sheppard*, Mr. *Powell*, Mr. *Heydegger*, Mr. *Lee*, Mr. *Ogden*; Lady *Houblon*, Mrs. *Featherston*, Mrs. *Gardiner*, Mrs. *Floyer*, and other Gentlemen and Ladies; particularly on the Green is a neat Seat, with exquisite Gardens planted by Sir *Charles Hedges*, (formerly Secretary of State to King *William*) but lately purchased by a most worthy Gentleman, Sir *Matthew Decker*. In the Gardens, besides several other Curiosities, there is one of the largest and highest Hedges of *Holly* in *Europe*; and the House is very handsome, and neatly furnished after the Manner in *Holland*.

Just on the other Side the River, *Joseph Wyndham Aft*, Esq; has a fine Seat; at *East-Sheine* the great Sir *William Temple* made those beautiful Gardens mentioned in his Works, now enjoyed by his Son the Lord *Palmerston*; and contiguous to *Richmond* are the Seats of the

Duke of *Argyll*, the Duke of *Queensbury*, the Dutchess of *Rutland*, the Earl of *Dysart*, the Earl of *Strafford*, the Lord *Harrington*, the Countess of *Sbrewsbury*, the Lord *Walpole*, the Lord *Blundel*, Sir *William Yonge*, and others. To describe every Seat and Villa belonging to the Nobility and Gentry in and near this Garden of *England* would fill a Volume.

The Town is so far enlarged, that it runs above a Mile up the Hill, and has been so much frequented by the best Company of late Years, that several elegant Houses of Entertainment have been opened for the Accommodation of the Nobility and Gentry.

From *Richmond* to *London*, the Sides of the River are full of Villages, and those Villages are full of beautiful Buildings, elegant Gardens, and rich Habitations of Gentlemen and Quality. In short, they represent in part the Grandeur and Magnificence of the Nation: Nay, the whole Country here shines with a Lustre not to be described. The Banks of the *Seine* are not thus adorned from *Paris* to *Roan*, or from *Paris* to the *Loign* above the City; the *Danube* can shew nothing like it above or below *Vienne*; or the *Po*, above and below *Turin*.

This Distemper, having for some time raged in *London* and other Places, made the King very uneasy. He frequently changed his Residence, and at last resolved to take his Family to *Calais*, till the Danger was over.

Upon his Arrival there the Arch-duke *Philip* sent Ambassadors to welcome him into those Parts, and express his Desire of paying his Majesty a Visit; but they were to request him not to appoint for their Interview a walled Town, being unwilling to confer with a Sovereign Prince in a fortified Place, notwithstanding he perfectly confided in his Honour. *Henry* very civilly received the Arch-duke's Compliment, and according to his Request appointed to meet him at *St. Peter's Church*, without the Gates of *Calais*, particularly charging *Philip's* Ambassadors to inform their Master, that he should expect him with the utmost Impatience. Some Days after the Arch-duke repaired to the Place appointed, and the King rid out to receive him. When *Philip* saw his Majesty he alighted, and offered to hold his Stirrup, but *Henry* would not permit it: After they had very affectionately embraced each other, they retired into the Church, where they had a long Conference. The Arch-duke called the King his Patron and Father, as appears by his Majesty's Letter to the Lord Mayor of *London*, wherein he acquaints him with the Substance of what passed at the Interview.

Before the End of *September*, the Plague ceasing, *Henry* set out with his Court for *England*, where he arrived in good Health.

Our Sovereign had not been long returned, before he bethought himself of finding out some new Scheme to raise Money from his Subjects, notwithstanding they had been just before miserably harrassed by the Plague; but, as he was at Peace with all the World, he had no Pretence to demand of his Parliament new Subsidies, therefore other Methods were

to

to be devised. *Perkin Warbeck's* Affair was a plentiful Fountain, which was not yet exhausted : Tho' the Commission he had given regarded properly such only as had been in Arms against him, and the Commissioners had so well executed their Trust as to bring to his Coffers large Sums ; yet he was not satisfied, but issued a second Commission, directed to the former Commissioners, wherein Notice was taken, that all Persons, who had any way adhered to *Warbeck*, were still liable to the Rigour of the Law ; but the King, in his great Clemency, was ready to grant them a Pardon, on Condition that they paid proper Fines. Upon this the Commissioners caused fresh Inquest to be taken of those that assisted *Michael* the Farrier, one of the Authors of the first *Cornish* Rebellion, and *Warbeck* the Impostor, having a Power, even where the Parties that had transgressed were dead, to sell their Estates, if the Heirs refused to make a reasonable Composition.

It was observed upon this Occasion, that, if the King had been favourable to the Rebels, during the Troubles, it was only out of fear of driving them to desperate Measures, while they were yet heated, since he spared them not, as soon as he believed them to be no longer dangerous : And, tho' *Morton* was accused as being the Author of these Oppressions, yet, after the Cardinal's Death, it was plainly perceived, that the Accusation was false, and that they sprung from the King himself.

When Princes under Colour of Law put Hardships on Particulars, a Remedy is to be sought from the Law ; and when the Law, fairly administered, will afford none, the People will acquiesce ; or, if they blame any thing, they will blame the Law ; and when they suffer not by Law, but from meer Violence, they will have recourse to Violence ; much Provocation, some Management, and a skilful Leader will find or raise some Spirit in them, often enough to accomplish

comply great Revolutions ; witness *Sicily* under the *French*, *Switzerland* under the Yoke of *Austria*, the *Low Countries* under that of *Spain*, and our own Nation under some of our Princes ; so that it is not surprizing, that *Henry* had, almost through his whole Reign, Plots and Rebellions formed and raised against him, considering the oppressive Treatment the People from time to time met with under his Government.

Soon after the Conclusion of the Peace between *England* and *Scotland*, the Ministers of both Kingdoms proceeded to settle the Marriage Articles between *James* and *Margaret*, which were approved of by their respective Masters. As the Princess *Margaret* was then only between ten and eleven Years old, the Consummation was delayed till three Years after, when it was accordingly performed, as we shall relate in proper Time.

During these Transactions Mr. *Wolsey* continued at *Oxford*, very usefully employed in his School and the College, where he every Day gained more and more Reputation, as well for his Learning, as governing the School, and instructing the Youth committed to his Care ; but, as he was preferred to a Living before the End of *December* this Year, he left the University and repaired to his Cure, where we shall for the present leave him.

*An Account of the
Birth of Charles
of Austria on St.
Matthias's Day.*

This proved a Year of general Joy to the House of *Austria*, for that Archduke *Philip's* Lady was delivered of a Son and Heir, in the City of *Ghent*, on *St. Matthias's* Day, whom they named *Charles*, and who afterwards became the famous Emperor *Charles* the Vth.

The Citizens of *Ghent*, to express their Joy upon the Birth of this Prince, built a Gallery, reaching from the Palace to the Church of *St. John*, being
three

three thousand seven hundred Feet in Length, and seven in Breadth, supported by stately Pillars, with forty triumphal Arches, every one bearing the Name of a Kingdom or State the new-born Infant was likely to be Heir to, thro' which he was carried to be christened.

Adrian Florentine (a Man of low Extraction, but had raised himself by his Virtue, and at last arrived to be Pope) was made Preceptor to Prince *Charles* when seven Years of Age, but *Adrian* could not prevail on him to apply to Learning, for his Inclination was altogether bent upon Arms. *William de Cray*, his Governor, is said to have indulged his Humour too much, in order to gain his Affection, inciting him to read the Histories of *France* and *Spain* only in their respective Languages, in an old uncouth Stile.

However, *Charles* spoke *Flemish*, *High-dutch* and *Italian* well, and *Spanish* but indifferently, till he was arrived at Man's Estate; he understood very little *Latin*, which he often found the Want of. His youthful Exercises, besides handling the Weapons, were Wrestling, Tennis, Hunting, and all that inured the Body to Hardship, and made it fit for War.

Michael, Prince of *Spain*, died soon after *Charles* was born, so that the Right of Succession devolved on the Princess *Jane*, (second Daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*) Wife to Arch-duke *Philip*, and Mother to Prince *Charles*.

His Holiness was very busy at *Rome* this Spring, in celebrating the Grand Jubilee, and delivering Pardons and Indulgences to such of the Faithful as had large Sums to purchase them; and *Alexander* was so lavish of his Favours, that he granted a Jubilee not only to those that came to *Rome*, but even to such as could not, or would not come, on their paying a valuable Consideration.

The Pope's Proceedings at Rome on celebrating the grand Jubilee.

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To give an Idea of the chief Ceremonies of a Jubilee, we shall observe, that there are seven principal Churches at *Rome*, where Pardons are to be had ; and every one of these Churches have at least one false Gateway made up with Brick, called the *Holy Gate*, which is never opened but in the Jubilee Year. The Pope goes to St. *Peter's* Cathedral in an Arm-chair, carried by four Men cloathed in red ; when he comes to the Holy Gate he uses the Words in the xxivth Psalm, Verse 9, *Lift up your Heads, O ye Gates ! &c.* and gives one Stroke with a Golden Hammer, on which the Wall (so contrived that the least Blow may bring it down) immediately falls, and all enter that have a mind to have the Benefit of the Jubilee. There is always such a Concourse of People on this Occasion, that never was a Jubilee but some of them were suffocated and trod to Death ; yet the Zeal of the People is so extraordinary, especially of the Vulgar, that they will not leave behind the least Part of the holy Materials that made up the Gate, but each carries somewhat to his respective Country for a Relict.

Alexander shewed plainly what Authority he took upon him, as well in Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell, for in the Jubilee Bull, concerning the Pilgrims that should die in their Journey to *Rome*, he says, ' We grant, that, if they die truly confessed, they should be free and absolved from all Sins whatsoever ; and over and above this, We absolutely command the Angels, that they place their Souls in Paradise, entirely exempt from Purgatory.' And in another Bull he says, ' Our Pleasure is, that the Pains of Hell do not afflict them in any wise whatsoever.' And in another Place granted, to those that took upon them the Cross in the *Holy Land*, ' That each of them should have Power to bring out of Purgatory two or three Souls, such as they pleased.'

Having thus liberally bestowed his Indulgences, he sent Commissioners to all the States of Christendom

to collect in the Money that should arise by the Jubilee, and the Commissioner appointed for *England* was *Jasper Pons*, a *Spaniard*, who wisely executed his Commission without Noise or Scandal, and carried a large Sum of Money home to his Master: He also was charged with another Affair, (that seemed of great Moment, but tended also only to fill the Pope's Coffers) which was to acquaint the King, 'That the Pope was resolved to publish a *Crusade* against the *Turks*, that therefore, as had been agreed with their respective Ambassadors, the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bobemians* were to make War upon the *Turks* in *Thrace*, the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Greece*, and himself, the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and Princes of *Italy*, who were most powerful at Sea, to attack *Constantinople*: That in consequence of this Resolution he had sent Nuncio's to all the Courts, to exhort their Sovereigns amicably to end their private Quarrels, that all the Forces of Christendom might be united for so pious an Undertaking.'

But *Alexander* was too well known to be thought to act only from a Motive of Religion and Zeal for the Glory of God; consequently every one saw, that the sole Design of the Crusade was to collect Treasure by voluntary Contributions, as well from private Persons as Sovereigns. However, *Henry*, unwilling to shew his Dislike of this Project, tho' probably it might meet with Obstacles enough elsewhere, told the Nuncio, 'That no Prince in Christendom should be more zealous than himself to promote this Expedition for the Glory of God, and the Good of the Church: That, as his Dominions were so remote from *Constantinople*, as he had no Gallies, and as his Mariners were not sufficiently acquainted with the *Mediterranean* Sea, he judged it more proper, that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* should accompany his Holiness by Sea, whereby not only all Things would be sooner ready, but the Jealousy

‘wisely avoided, which would infallibly rise between those two Monarchs, in case they should march together by Land without a Superior: That for his Part, he would freely contribute both Men and Money towards the Undertaking; and, if the Kings of *France* and *Spain* should refuse to accompany the Pope, he would go himself and command under him, provided all Differences between the Christian Princes were first appeased, (which he should not obstruct, since he was in Peace with all the World) and some good Towns on the Coast of *Italy* were put into his Hands for a Retreat in case of Necessity.’

The Pope easily perceived the Meaning of this Answer, and, as the rest of the Princes probably returned the like, the Crusade vanished into Air. Meanwhile the King, to display his Zeal, appointed Ambassadors to go to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning that Affair; but it does not appear whether those Ambassadors ever went from *London*. Henry’s Answer being made publick, the Knights of *Rhodes* elected him Protector of their Order, imagining no Prince in Christendom was more zealous than he for Religion.

*Further Account
of the Affairs of
Milan.*

Now to return to *Milan*: The People of that Dutchy were divided into Parties, the one called *Guelphes*, and the other *Gibelines*, (something like our Parties of *Whigs* and *Tories* in *England*) the former was the most numerous, tho’ the least regarded in *Milan*. As to the Governor, it manifestly appeared on several Occasions, that his Inclination solely run in favour of the latter. It happened, that a Parcel of Butchers, of the *Guelphes* Party, making some Difficulty to pay a Tax the King had not imposed, only permitted, a Mutiny arose; and the Governor, instead of ordering the Guilty to be seized, killed some of the Mutineers with his own Hand. This, joined to the intoler-

intolerable Pride with which he governed the Dutchy, drew upon him the Hatred of the People, and forwarded the Execution of the *Gibelines* Design of Revolting.

Ludovic, being well informed of all these Particulars, and having, since his Retreat, got a Body of Forces together, immediately mustered his Army, (consisting of fifteen hundred Men at Arms, *Burgundians*, and twelve thousand *Swiss*) re-entered his Dutchy, and marched towards *Coma*, of which he quickly made himself Master.

The *Gibelines* in *Milan*, as soon as they heard he was in the Neighbourhood, took Arms, and was seconded by the Townsmen. On the 2d of *February*, *Trivulca* was besieged in the Town-house, where he defended himself for a Time, notwithstanding the small Number he had with him; and at last issued out with his Battle-ax in his Hand, courageously fight his Way through, and got safe into the Castle.

Upon holding a Council of War in the Castle it was agreed, that the Place was capable of holding out for some time, that the Governor should not confine himself there, but immediately depart, and provide for other Places, which accordingly he did, with four hundred Men entering *Novara*, and conducted others to *Mortara*.

No sooner had the Governor quitted *Milan*, but the Duke marched into it, where he was received with more Joy than had been expressed on his Departure five or six Months before; at the same time several other Places surrendering to *Ludovic*, he was in a fair Way of soon possessing himself of the whole Dutchy.

Duke *Ludovic* sent the Emperor and other Princes, who had declared for him, an Account of the happy Success of his Enterprize, and desired Succours of them; but only some Princes of little Consequence made any haste to comply with his Desire: However,

ever, he proceeded with Resolution and Vigour, and, having left some Forces to block up the Castle of *Milan*, went himself to lay Siege to *Novara*. This Town, after a vigorous Defence for some Days, was obliged to capitulate; after which he besieged the Castle.

This Flow of Fortune did not run very long in *Ludovic's* Favour, before *Lewis* was informed of what had passed at *Milan*, who lost no Time, but gave Orders to march Forces into *Italy* were so expeditiously executed, that, in the Beginning of *April*, ten thousand *Swiss*, levied by the Bailiff of *Dijon*, six thousand *French* Infantry, and one thousand five hundred Men at Arms, with all their Equipage, were drawn together under *Mortara*. *Lewis de la Tremoville* was made General of this Army, and the Cardinal *D'Amboise* came himself to *Vercell*, to see more perfectly how Affairs stood.

La Tremoville marched immediately to *Novara*, under Pretence of raising the Siege of the Castle, but in reality upon a more important Design, viz. to seize *Ludovic* by the Treachery of the *Swiss* in his Army, whose Officers the Bailiff of *Dijon* had gained over. By their Advice also the *French* Cavalry spread themselves along the Banks of the *Tesin*, to hinder eight thousand *Italian* Foot and four thousand Horse from joining *Ludovic*, who, having some Suspicion of a Correspondence between his *Swiss* and the *French*, had sent for the Troops he had left before the Castle of *Milan*.

As soon as the *French* Army came near *Novara*, the *Swiss*, of whom the Garrison of that Place mostly consisted, mutinied, under Pretence of not having their Pay, and *Ludovic* did all that he could to appease them, and promised to pay them out of the Money that he was to receive from *Milan*. This Promise seemed to quiet them; but, when he proposed to march against the *French* and give them Battle,

tle, they refused, and the Chief of the *Swiss* Officers told him, ‘That there being a great Number of *Swiss* ‘ in the *French* Army, they could not fight against ‘ them without the express Consent of the Cantons ; ‘ and that, to avoid imbruing their Hands in the ‘ Blood of their Countrymen, Relations, and Bre- ‘ thren, they were resolved to return back to their ‘ own Country.’

This Answer fully convinced *Ludovic*, that he was betrayed ; he made use of Entreaties, Promises, and even Tears, to dissuade them from their Design, tho’ to no Purpose : At last he only begged them, by way of Favour, not to abandon him to the Fury of his Enemies, but conduct him into a Place of Security, from whence he might dismiss them, if they still persisted on quitting his Service : This they also absolutely refused, and told him, ‘ That he had no ‘ other Way but to blend himself with them, and ‘ by that Means make his Escape, if he could.’ That being the only Expedient remaining for him, he agreed, and the *Swiss*, having Leave of *Lewis de la Tremoville* to return home, began to file off in sight of the *French* Army ; and the Generals, carefully examining their Faces, discovered *Ludovic*, armed and dressed like a *Swiss*, and seized both him and his principal Officers, *April* 10th, of whom no doubt the treacherous *Swiss* had given previous Notice. *Ludovic* was immediately carried into *France*, and imprisoned in the Castle of *Loches*, where he died about the Year 1510. The Taking of him gave rise to this Proverb in *France*, *Il a été pris comme le maure*, He was taken as the Moor, a Nickname given him from the Blackness of his Complexion.

Such was the Fate of this Duke, who deserved no better, having usurped the Dutchy of *Milan* from his Nephew, whom he poisoned, committed many Treacheries against *France*, and baffled his Neighbours, Allies, and Enemies.

Ludovic's

Ludovic's being taken was the decisive Stroke of the *Milanese* War ; his Brother, Cardinal *Ascanio*, fled, and was stopt at *Rivolta* in the *Plaisantine* by the *Venetians*, for whom the King immediately sent Messengers, tho' he soon after set him at Liberty in regard to his Dignity ; but *Ludovic's* two Sons fled to the Emperor's Court. All the *Milanese* submitted, and *Charles D'Amboise*, High Steward of *France*, and Brother to the Cardinal of that Name, was made Governor, in the room of *Trivulca*, the King now being fully convinced of his Error, in giving that Command to the latter.

This Revolt of the People of *Milan* cost their Metropolis the Heads of ten or twelve of their Chiefs, besides the Sum of two hundred thousand Crowns ; and on *Holy Friday*, a Day of Mercy, Cardinal *D'Amboise* received the *Amenda honorable* of the Rebels in the Town-hall, and pardoned their Crime in the Name of the King. The other Cities were taxed so favourably, that it seemed rather a Subsidy than Punishment.

The War being ended, the *Swiss* Forces that were in the *French* Service returned home ; but in their March seized on the City of *Bellinzonne*, which shuts up the Passage to the Mountains on that side ; by holding which Place they could enter into the *Milanese* whenever they pleased.

As the Peace of the *Milanese* was restored, and the Government settled, and as the Pope was attached to *France* by the Interests of the Duke of *Valentinois*, his Son, it seemed a proper Time for making the Conquest of *Naples* succeed that of *Milan*.

A Journal of the Progress of the Kings of France and Spain, in conquering the Kingdom of Naples.

But as *Lewis* apprehended it would be too great an Undertaking alone, he proposed it to the King of *Spain*, who approved of the Scheme ; they were not long a negotiating before a Treaty was agreed on by both Parties ; and

to make it appear plausible to the World, they asserted in the Articles, ' That *Frederick*, King of *Naples*, as he was descended from a Bastard of the House of *Arragon*, had no Right to the Kingdom of *Naples* *; and that they two were the only Persons that could make a lawful Claim, and therefore agreed to divide it between them, and each to take Possession of his Share; the King of *Spain* to have *Poville* and *Calabria*, as lying most convenient for him in the Neighbourhood of the Isles of *Sicily*, which belonged to him; the King of *France* to have the rest of the Kingdom, with the Capital, and the Title of King of *Naples* and *Jerusalem*.'

* The Kingdom of *Naples* is environed on all sides with the *Adriatick*, *Ionian*, and *Tuscan* Seas, excepting where it joineth with the Lands of the Church. It takes up all the East of *Italy*, being 1468 Miles, and is the fertilest Part of it, abounding in all Things necessary for Life. It hath had thirteen Princes, twenty-four Dukes, twenty-five Marquesses, ninety Earls, and nine hundred Barons, not titular only, but Men of great Estates. The Revenues of this Kingdom is computed at above three Millions of Crowns, and hath no less than twenty Archbishops and one hundred and twenty-seven Bishops Sees. In *Italy* so stately and magnificent are its numerous Cities, that we cannot omit the following Epithets bestowed on divers of them, as *Rome* the Sacred, *Naples* the Noble, *Florence* the Fair, *Venice* the Rich, *Genoa* the Stately, *Milan* the Great, *Ravenna* the Antient, *Padua* the Learned, *Bononia* the Fat, *Leghorn* the Merchandizing, *Verona*

the Charming, *Luca* the Jolly, and *Casal* the Strong. A fine Country indeed!

The Kingdom of *Sicily* is situate under the fourth Climate, the longest Day being thirteen Hours and a half. Historians say, the People are ingenious, eloquent and pleasant, but withal very inconstant and full of Talk; it hath had four Dukes, thirteen Marquesses, fourteen Earls, one Viscount, and forty-eight Barons; three Archbishops, and nine Bishops; and the Revenue is computed at above one Million of Ducats.

These two Kingdoms are at present possessed by *Don Carlos*, Son to the enterprizing Queen of *Spain*, by the Title of King of the *Two Sicilies*, as it hath been anciently called, and may with too much Truth be said, that this young Prince is indebted to the *British* Nation for so fair a Possession: The Return the *English* have since met with for so generous an Assistance, all *Europe* is now witness of.

This Treaty was confirmed by *Ferdinand* on the 11th of *November* at *Granada*.

One of the *French* Writers affirms, 'That there was nothing in the Treaty to cast an Odium on the *French*, by reason of the Hostilities which continued between the Subjects of *Naples* and those of *France*; but the Case was different in respect to *Spain*, which had always supported *Frederick* and his Predecessors, so that there was need of some apparent Motives for this Change; that of Religion and the Defence of the Church was then, and has been ever since advantageously applied by those Monarchs. *Ferdinand* therefore entered into Manifesto's, which he published upon this Occasion;' and one of the Causes alledged in the Declaration of War against *Frederick* was, 'For that he had made a League with the *Turks* against the *Christians*, meaning the *French* and *Venetians*, when they first attacked the Duke of *Milan*.'

The Treaty between the two Kings remained a Secret till the Time they entred upon Action. As soon as the Pope heard of this Treaty, he readily promised to grant both Princes Assistance in their intended Designs, hoping thereby to augment the Power and Riches of his Son, the Duke of *Valentinois*.

The King had yet one Bar to remove, which related to the Emperor; it was necessary to make him his Friend at this Juncture, or at least to prevent his opposing his Projects; the last Point he carried by the following Means: First, he presented *Maximilian* with a large Sum of Money, which he had always great Occasion for: And, secondly, he proposed a Marriage between *Clauda* of *France*, and *Charles* of *Austria* born this Year. The *French* Writers say, '*Maximilian* swallowed the Bait, for which he can only be excused, by the Apprehensions he was under, that *Lewis* might fall upon his Son *Philip* in the *Low Countries*.'

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The Apprehensions in respect to the Emperor being removed, both *Lewis* and *Ferdinand* lost no time, but immediately ordered their Forces to march.

Mizerai says, 'His King could have carried his Point without the Assistance of that politick Prince.' Be that as it will, as they had entred into a League to conquer *Naples*, and share it between them, they accordingly sent their Troops into that Kingdom. *Gonsalvo*, called the *Great Captain*, being constituted *Ferdinand's* General, set Sail from *Malaga* with a large Fleet, and a great Number of Forces which landed in *Sicily*, and went from thence with the *Venetian* Fleet to take the Isle of *Cephalonia*, and returning afterwards to *Syracuse*, there waited for new Orders from the King.

His Arrival gave the King of *Naples* Joy rather than Disquiet, who depended very much upon Succours from *Spain*, in case the King of *France* should any ways disturb him in his Kingdom. He endeavoured also to divert the Tempest by the Offers he made this Prince, whose Preparations were not unknown to him, and who amused him without breaking the Negotiation; but Matters did not continue long in suspense:

For, as soon as the King of *Spain's* Fleet was sailed for *Sicily*, the *French* set Sail from *Provence*, under the Command of the Lord *de Ravestein*, Governor of *Genoa*, and the Land Army, which was assembled in the *Milanese*, marched towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, and was to be joined by the Forces of the Duke *de Valentinois*, who had some time before made himself Master of *Faenza*. The Army of *France* was commanded by the Marshal *D'Aubigny*, and the Count of *Cajazza*, who arrived at this Honour by the late Treachery he had shewn to *Ludovic*.

As soon as the *French* Army came within sight of *Rome*, the Ambassadors of *France* and *Spain* obtained an Audience of the Pope, in Presence of the sa-

cred College, and notified to him the Treaty made between the two Kings, (of which the Pope had been already well informed) one of them demanding the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* for the King of *France*, his Master, and the other that of *Poville* and *Calabria* for the King of *Spain*; their Request was immediately granted, and the whole Secret discovered.

Never did any Event cause more Surprize than this, or afford more ample Matter of Reflection for the Politicians of *Italy*, most People blaming the King of *France's* Imprudence, in admitting the King of *Spain* within the Kingdom of *Naples*, where the latter would keep Possession with much more Ease than the other could do, (by means of the Kingdom of *Sicily*) and from whence he would sooner or later drive out the *French*. The King of *Spain* they accused of Treachery, in prostituting the Confidence, which a Prince of his Family had put in him, to deprive him of his States, and throw him headlong down a Precipice, by pretending to save him from it.

Frederick King of *Naples* was surprized when he found *Ferdinand* and *Lewis* were united with an Intention to conquer his Kingdom; he saw he should soon be overwhelmed by two such formidable Powers, which it was absolutely impossible for him to resist: He had no other Way to take but to put the small Number of Forces he had into his Towns, and to dispute the Ground with them as long as he was able.

D' Aubigny was received into *Naples*; *Capua* and *Cajeta* held out for some time, and then both surrendered; and *Frederick*, who was retired into the Castle *Novo*, seeing himself closely besieged by *D' Aubigny*, without any hopes of Succour, was obliged to capitulate.

The *French* General allowed *Frederick* to withdraw to the Isle of *Ischia*, to keep it for six Months, then

to go where he pleased, permitting him at the same time to take any thing out of the Castles of *Naples*, except the Cannon belonging to *Charles* the VIIIth.

It is very remarkable, that within that small Island, in which *Frederick* took shelter, a deplorable Example of the accumulated Misery of old *Ferdinand's* Progeny was to be seen at that Time: First of all, *Frederick* himself, now divested of his Kingdom, with a numerous Family of Children, destitute and unprovided for, and his eldest Son in a helpless Condition, shut up within *Tarento*. Here also was *Frederick's* Sister *Beatrix*, who had been in a barbarous Manner divorced from her Husband, *Ladislaus*, King of *Hungary*; and *Isabella*, Dutcheß of *Milan*.

On *Frederick's* Arrival in *Ischia*, he began to think in what Manner to dispose of himself and Family, being now no better than an Exile in his own Country; and, reflecting on the barbarous Treatment he had met with from the *Spanish* King, his Relation, he determined, rather than to have any thing to do with that Nation, to seek Protection and Safety from his very Enemies: Therefore he sent to *Lewis*, desiring a Safe-guard for bringing him into *France*, where he declared he intended to pass the rest of his Days, which Proposal was immediately accepted by the *French* King. Accordingly, *Frederick*, having left his Family in *Ischia*, with *Prospero Colonna*, (who had retired from *Rome*, to escape falling into *Alexander's* Hands) embarked on board one of the five Gallies sent to convoy him, with which he arrived safe in *France*; and, as soon as he came there, *Lewis* received him most graciously, and for his Support he had the Dutchy of *Anjou* as a Free Gift, with an additional Revenue of thirty thousand Ducats *per Annum*, which was paid *Frederick* to the Day of his Death, tho' the *French* were some time after driven out of *Naples*. The kind Treatment, *Frederick* met with in *France*, soon induced him to send Orders to deliver

deliver up the Island of *Ischia* to the *French*, which, tho' with some Delay, was done.

Whilst *D'Aubigny* was so successfully employed in executing the Orders of the King of *France*, *Gonsalvo*, acting with no less Application and good Fortune for the Interest of his Prince, went to *Calabria*, where they almost in every Place immediately submitted: He met with no Opposition, except at *Manfredonia* and *Tarento*, tho' it was not long before their Governors capitulated too. One of the Conditions, for the Performance of which they required a particular Oath from *Gonsalvo*, was, 'That he should give the young Duke of *Calabria*, Son of *Frederick* the de-throned King of *Naples*, Liberty to withdraw to whatever Place he thought proper;' which, by a private Order from his Father, was to be into *France*; but *Gonsalvo*, notwithstanding his Oath, sent him into *Spain*, where, by kind and benevolent Usage, they endeavoured to mitigate the Severity of his bad Fortune. Such was the Fall of this unhappy Branch of the House of *Arragon*.

On the other side, the Duke de *Valentinois*, was in the Pursuit of making himself Master of *Piombino* and *Apiano*, instead of joining the *French* Army, and the Pope seized all the Towns and Territories of the *Colonnas* and *Savelli* about *Rome*, which two Families had long been Enemies to that of *Alexander*.

In the *French* Army there was a great Number of young Princes and Lords that went Volunteers, among whom *Lewis*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Montpessier*, was one; and it is related of him, that, going to pray to God over his Father's Tomb at *Puzzeoli*, reflecting in his Thoughts upon the Miseries he had endured, and the deplorable Manner of his Death, his Blood was so moved thereby, that it put him into a Fever, of which he died at *Naples*; which Instance shews the Maxim not always true, *That Love descends stronger from Parents to Children, than it reascends*

cends from Children to Parents. With this melancholy Event we shall conclude the Year 1500.

The long projected Marriage of *The Affairs of* Prince *Arthur* with *Catherine*, Princess of *England.* of *Arragon*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and 1501.

Isabella, took Place this Year; she landed at *Plymouth*, *October* the 2d, and on the 14th of *November* the Nuptials were solemnized, *Arthur* being sixteen Years of Age, and *Catherine* eighteen. After which there was a grand Entertainment, Sports, and all Recreations that bespoke a general Joy; and in the Evening the Royal young Couple, with the usual Ceremony, were put to bed. The next Morning (as the Servants about the Prince reported) he called for Drink, which not being accustomed to do, one of the Gentlemen of his Privy-chamber asked him the Reason of it; to whom *Arthur* merrily answered, *I have been in the Midst of Spain, which is a hot Country, and that makes me thirsty.*

Speed says, 'A grave old Lady lay between the Bride and Bridegroom, to prevent any further Consummation of the Marriage, in regard to Prince *Arthur's* Youth.' But *Hollingshead* was of a very different Opinion, who asserts, 'That the Marriage was actually consummated.'

At this Time the King was at Peace with all *Europe*, and, having destroyed his domestick Enemies, and heaped up very considerable Riches, it might be reasonably thought he had all he could desire in this World; yet his Subjects fared never the better: As his Avarice was insatiable, and he had now leisure to look about him, it pushed him still more upon getting of Money.

He had raised up, on the Death of Cardinal *Morton*, two infamous Ministers, Sir *Richard Empson* and *Edmund Dudley*, who regardless of their own and the King's Reputation, sought only to gratify his miserly Humour, and devise new Means to fill his Coffers.

Edmund Dudley, Son of *John. Dudley*, Esq; second Son

Son of *John Lord Dudley*, of *Dudley Castle* in *Staffordshire*, became a Student in the University of *Oxford* about the Year 1478, went afterwards, as it seems, to *Gray's-Inn* in *Holborn*, where he, in a short time, became a Proficient in the *Municipal Law*. He was first Under-sheriff of *London*, and held it about six Years, during which Time he got a full Knowledge of the Nature and Extent of the Penal Laws, and busied himself greatly in enquiring after those who had incurred Forfeitures. When he was thus qualified he ingratiated himself at Court, and quitted his Office to enter into the King's Service, and soon after he was elected Member of Parliament. He was also well-skill'd in the Laws of the Land, and able to give a favourable Turn to the most odious Actions.

Empson sprung from the Dregs of the People, being the Son of a Sieve-maker, who was so little ashamed of any Injustice he committed, that he used to glory in Iniquity. Notwithstanding, the King looked upon him as a proper Person to be jointly employed with *Dudley*, and accordingly they were constituted Commissioners of Forfeitures.

No sooner were they entered upon their Office, but they immediately retained in their Service a Number of Persons, in those Days called *Promoters*, (known now by the Name of *Informers*) and had a Set of leading Jurors at Command, whereby they could have any thing found as they pleased; they spared neither Great nor Small, not considering whether the Penal Law was reasonable or not, in use or obsolete.

As to *Henry*, their Master, we do not find that he pardoned any Fines or Confiscations; on the contrary, where Money was to be had by a Forfeiture, he never pardoned, an Instance of which we have in the Case of Lord *Oxford*, tho' he had done him the greatest Services both in War and Peace.

The Earl, forgetting it was forbid by Act of Parliament to give Liveries to any but his menial Servants,

vants, it fell out, when the King went to visit the Earl at his Castle, (where he was entertained with all possible Magnificence) that his Majesty at parting observed a Number of Men dressed in rich Liveries, ranged on both sides, to make a Lane for him, on which he turned about to the Earl and said, ‘ My Lord, I have heard much of your Splendor and Hospitality, but I find they exceed all Report; these handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen I see on both sides of me are sure your Menial Servants.’ The Earl smiled and answered, ‘ That he did not keep so many Domesticks; that these Men came only to do him Honour on extraordinary Occasions, such as then offered.’ The King, who was as diligent to find out a Forfeiture as his two Ministers to levy it, started a little, and said, ‘ By my Faith, my Lord, I thank you for my good Cheer, but I must not suffer my Laws to be broken before my Face; my Attorney must talk with you.’ Which he did to some Purpose, for it cost the Earl 1500 Marks.

His Majesty looked closely after his two Commissioners, and made *Dudley* keep a Book, wherein were regularly entred the Sums recovered by the Commission of Forfeitures, which was from time to time perused and settled by the King himself, as appears from several Memorandums of his Writing in it; among others was this remarkable Item, (‘ Received of ———— five Marks for the Pardon to be procured, and if the Pardon do not pass, the Money to be repaid, except the Party be some other ways satisfied, ’) wrote with the King’s own Hand, which shews he was not willing to pardon the Man, and yet could not resolve to restore the Money. In this Manner *Henry* employed great Part of his Time during this Year; and for the present we shall leave him with his two Leeches devising new Ways to extort Money from the Subject, under Pretence of Forfeitures, and return to the Transactions of several

Princes, in respect to the Affairs of *Italy*, and other Parts abroad.

*Affairs of Italy,
France, and
Spain.*

At this Time it visibly appeared, that the Union between *France* and the *Venetians* was considerably lessened, the Conquest of *Naples* was by no means agreeable to the Republick, which they soon shewed, by their endeavouring to spirit up *Maximilian* to break the Truce he had lately concluded with *Lewis*. These Proceedings made that Monarch no way uneasy, in regard he apprehended that he should be able to defeat their Designs, and by that Means it would give him a Pretence to fall out with the *Venetians*, and thereby, one Time or other, get all the Towns they possessed in the *Milanese* into his Hands. Having this in View, he courted *Maximilian's* Friendship with as much Ardour as the *Venetians* endeavoured to make him his Enemy. One of the *French* Writers relates, 'That *Lewis* carried his Point at last, thro' Bribery, and the Cardinal *D'Amboise*,' who attended the Emperor, then residing at *Trent*, and concluded a Treaty with him *August* the 10th. Among other Articles were these: First, 'That the Marriage between *Lewis's* Daughter *Clauda* and *Charles, Maximilian's* Grandson, was confirmed. Second, *Lewis* agreed to assist the Emperor with all his Forces, to recover several Towns which the *Venetians* had formerly taken from the House of *Austria*; and the Emperor also agreed to the Prolongation of the Truce between the two Powers.' There was likewise another Article, wherein *Lewis* undertook to pay *Maximilian* no less a Sum than 140,000 Livres on his giving him the Investiture of *Milan*, both which were to be delivered at *Frankfort*.

This Treaty being concluded, the *Venetians* were disappointed, and all they got by their Attempt was, to make *Lewis* their Enemy, which they afterwards felt the

the bad Effect of ; but, before he had Time to shew his Resentment, other Affairs interfered.

Isabella of *Spain* was now very sickly, which caused several to apprehend she had not long to live. This made the *Castillians* very desirous to see *Philip* and *Jane*, the next Heirs to the Crown, before the Queen's Death. Accordingly, to please those People, the Arch-duke *Philip*, and *Jane*, his Dutcheſs, took a Tour to *Spain* in *November*, making *Paris* in their Way : They were there received and entertained with the utmost Pomp, and *Philip* took his Seat in Parliament as a Peer of *France*, where both he and his Lady solemnly confirmed the Marriage Articles of *Charles* their Son with *Lewis's* Daughter, and then the King made, in Concert with *Philip*, some Additions to the Treaty of *Trent*, and obtained a Promise from *Philip* to see that the Emperor granted him the Investiture of the *Milaneſe* according to Agreement. When this was over, *Philip* and his Princess (after fifteen Days Stay at *Paris*) proceeded on their Journey, and were conducted to the Frontiers, having all imaginable Honours paid them ; and, to shew further the King's high Respect for this Prince, he granted him a Power of pardoning Criminals in every City that he passed through.

His most Christian Majesty, pursuant to the reiterated Promises, both of *Maximilian* and his Son *Philip*, did not doubt but the Emperor would grant him the Investiture, according to the Treaty, and for that End he sent an Ambassador to the Diet of *Frankfort*, where *Maximilian* promised to receive the Homage for the Dutchy of *Milan*, and at the same time grant the Investiture ; but the Emperor did not come there ; so that *Lewis* was disappointed, and the Ambassador had nothing more to do, than to make a publick Protest against *Maximilian's* Proceedings, which accordingly he did, and then returned home. It was soon after discovered, that the true Reason, for the

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Emperor's thus behaving himself, was owing to the King of *Spain's* Intrigues, who had made him a Present of a large Sum of Money, which induced him to keep away from the Diet ; and here we shall end the Year 1501.

Affairs of
England
and Scot-
land.

1502.

In the Month of *January*, Prince *Arthur*, with his Princess, set out for *Wales*, in order to keep his Court at *Ludlow*, but he had not been long in those Parts before he was taken ill, and died *April* the 2d, not five Months after his Marriage at *Ludlow-Castle*, universally lamented throughout the Kingdom ; for he was a Prince of fine Parts, and of a generous Disposition, so that the People expected, in case he had succeeded to the Crown, as much Lenity under his Government, as they had experienced Severity from that of his Father's.

The Aptness and Ingenuity of Prince *Arthur* in his Studies were very remarkable, who, tho' he was not Seventeen when he died, had read over all the *Latin* Classics. He was buried suitable to his Quality in the Cathedral of *Worcester*, where his Ashes now remain.

Hollingshead tells us, ' That Prince *Henry* was stopt for some time after his Brother's Death, from taking upon him the Title of *Prince of Wales*, till it was known whether Prince *Arthur's* Widow was with Child ;' but Authors differ as to the Time, some making it six Months, others less. In the Collection of the Publick Acts, we find Letters Patent of the 22d of *June*, 1502, wherein he was stiled *Prince of Wales* ; so that, at the most, Prince *Henry* did not continue three Months in Suspence.

King *Henry*, finding much Advantage from the Proceedings of his two Ministers, *Empson* and *Dudley*, greatly encouraged them ; but, tho' they gained Favour with their Prince, they became more and more hated by the People, insomuch that they were often forced

forced to go guarded to protect themselves from the Menaces of the Populace.

By these Means *Henry* having amassed together very great Wealth, he on a sudden resolved to bestow Part of it in building a magnificent Chapel adjoining to the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, to be called after his Name.

In pursuance of this pious Design he soon fell to Building, and on the 24th of *January* the first Stone was laid in the Presence of *John Philip*, Abbot of *Westminster*; Sir *Reginald Bray*, Knight of the Garter; Dr. *Barns*, Master of the Rolls; and divers others; on which the following Inscription was engraven:

Illustrissimus HENRICUS SEPTIMUS,
Rex ANGLIÆ et FRANCIÆ, et Dominus
HIBERNIÆ,

Posuit hanc Petrum,
In Honore Beatæ Virginis MARIÆ,
24^o Die JANUARI, Anno Domini
M.D.II.

Et Anno dicti Regis HENRICI SEPTIMI
Decimo Octavo.

This * Chapel the King lived to see finished, which was in so grand and sumptuous a Manner, that even at this Day it is allowed to be one of the finest in *Europe*; *Leland* styles it the *Miracle of the World*.

Before the End of this Year there came an Earl, a Bishop, and several of the Nobility of *Scotland*, to treat further with *Henry*, in respect to the Marriage that

* The Chapel built by *Henry* the III^d was pulled down, and this placed in its room, and dedicated, as the other was, to the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and stands contiguous to the East End of the Abbey Church, between the Chapel of St. *Nicholas* and St. *Paul*. The Knights of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath* are here installed, wherein their Stalls and Ensigns are fixed.

that had been agreed on between the King of *Scotland* and *Margaret* his eldest Daughter, who was now entered into the 14th Year of her Age: These Ambassadors in a solemn Audience demanded the Princess for their Master; on which came on a Debate before his Majesty in Council, Whether such Marriage should take Place? Some Lords opposed it, objecting, 'That by this Means the Crown might fall to the 'Blood Royal of *Scotland*;' to which the King wisely answered, '*What if it should?*' (which Omen God forbade) I see it will come to pass, that our Kingdom 'will lose nothing thereby, because there will not be 'an Accession of *England* to *Scotland*, but contrarily 'of *Scotland* to *England*, as that which is far away the 'most noble Head of the whole Island, seeing that 'which is less useful to accrue to the Ornament and 'Honour of that which is the greater, as *Normandy* 'heretofore came to be under the *English*, our Fore- 'fathers.'

The King's Speech was received by the Council as from the Mouth of an Oracle, and those, who before opposed the Match, became most zealous for it: And, on the Breaking up of the Council, the Ambassadors were again introduced to the King, and informed, that their Request was granted. The Lady's Fortune was 10,000 *l.* her Jointure 1000 *l.* at present, and to be 2000 *l.* a Year in case of King *James's* Decease.

*The harsh Treatment
Mr. Wolsey met
with from Sir Amias
Pawlet.*

Thomas Wolsey was now at *Limington*, pursuing his Studies, officiating in his Cure, repairing and beautifying not only his House, but the Church, where there are still Tokens of his

Works; particularly in the Windows are to be seen the initial Letters of his Name. Though about this Time an unlucky Accident happened, that occasioned him to change his Mind, as to residing in those Parts,

He was remarkable for being of a free and sociable Temper, for living in a friendly and open Communication with his Parishioners and Neighbours; and he once went with some of them to a Fair, in an adjacent Town, where 'tis said he drank to Excess, which created some Disorder. A surly Knight, Sir *Amias Pawlet*, (who had made himself famous in the Office of Commissioner for enquiring after Forfeitures upon the Defeat of *Perkin Warbeck*) being in his Company at that Time, or hearing of it, caused *Wolsey*, for that Offence, to be set in the Stocks: Others have thought this Report was raised to excuse *Pawlet's* Behaviour, which, as Dr. *Fiddes* thinks, he could not well justify.

Godwin says expressly, 'That Sir *Amias* treated *Wolsey* in this scandalous Manner for little or no Occasion.' Be that as it will, this Treatment was not forgot. When *Wolsey* arrived to the Dignity of Lord Chancellor he sent for the Knight, and severely reprimanded him for the Treatment he had met with. *Cavendish* fully sets forth that Matter, and therefore we shall only observe, that, when Sir *Amias Pawlet* pursued his Humour, in setting the reverend Rector in the Stocks, there was a vast Disproportion in their Circumstances. Sir *Amias* was of an antient Family, a Justice of the Peace, and a Man of great Authority in the Country; *Thomas Wolsey*, a poor Schoolmaster, then lately preferred to the Benefice of *Limington*. Time (*What will not Time produce?*) altered the Case; the latter mounted to be Lord Chancellor, the other continued what he was before; *Pawlet* was now obliged to obey *Wolsey's* Summons; Submission and Contrition for the past Offence was the Condition the Justice was reduced to; nay, he was glad to do any thing to get rid of an Affair that seemed to prognosticate the Ruin of himself and Family: Therefore, let Men in Authority pursue the true Paths of Virtue and Honour, for then the Rising of their Inferiors cannot be attended with any Inconvenience to them. But, on the

the other hand, when they pursue the Dictates of only their own Passions, and punish Men more out of Humour than Justice, it's possible they may meet with a disagreeable Return. It's requisite, indeed, that proper Resentments, for Injuries received, should at times be shewed, in order to deter great Men from crushing and hurting their Inferiors contrary to Reason or Law.

The reverend Dr. *Fiddes*, upon the Resentment *Wolsey* afterwards shewed, for the Treatment he had met with from *Pawlet*, reasons after the following Manner :

‘ Some have thought, that a Chantellor of *England*,
 ‘ an Archbishop of *York*, and a Cardinal, ought to
 ‘ have forgotten an Injury, tho’ of a most provoking
 ‘ Nature, done many Years before, to a private Pa-
 ‘ rish Priest ; and there is no doubt, had the Injury
 ‘ been merely personal, it would have been more be-
 ‘ coming a great and generous Mind to have buried
 ‘ it in Oblivion ; but the Cardinal thought, perhaps,
 ‘ the Order itself suffered, by an Outrage attended
 ‘ with the last Circumstance of Infamy ; and so it
 ‘ might appear to him not altogether improper, or
 ‘ unreasonable, that some Animadversion should be
 ‘ made upon it, tho’ at that Distance, by a Person of
 ‘ his Authority, in case, as the Laws then stood, he
 ‘ had any Authority to that End ; tho’ admitting in-
 ‘ deed that he had, it may still be a Question, whe-
 ‘ ther he did not extend it too far.’

Upon the Whole, whatever might be the Occasion of this Insult, it contributed to render our *Wolsey* very uneasy in his Cure, especially as he was now exposed to rude Treatment from ignorant and ill-bred People, which must necessarily lessen his Authority, and therefore he thought it adviseable to change the Place of his Residence, and to remove where he might find a more fit Opportunity of distinguishing himself, and perhaps of making his Fortune, by appearing in a better Light.

About this Time the Marquis of *Dorset* died at his pleasant Seat at *Pyrgo*, near *Havering* in *Essex*, and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by *Thomas* his eldest Son, to whom *Erasmus* had been Tutor. This Accident was another Reason that induced Mr. *Wolsey* to think of removing from *Limington*; the principal Support of his Hopes being now taken away, by the Death of so considerable a Nobleman, who might have been an Instrument of his further Advancement.

But it appears, that, a little Time after the Marquis's Death, Mr. *Wolsey* was received by Dr. *Dean*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as one of his domestick Chaplains. * The Author of the *British Antiquities* seems to think, that the Office *Wolsey* obtained was entirely owing to his personal Address and Assiduity, and not to any foreign Instances. Be that as it will, by this Introduction he had an Opportunity of making himself more conspicuous, and thereby pave the Way for his further Promotion.

*Wolsey chose
Chaplain by
Archbishop
Dean.*

Now let us return to foreign Affairs: *Affairs of Spain*. The latter End of the last Year, we left the Arch-duke and his Princess pursuing their Journey to *Spain*; on the 29th of *January* they arrived at *Fuenterabia*; at this Place they found several Persons of Quality waiting to attend them. On the

* Here it may be observed, that, since *Wolsey's* Time, many great Divines, by being Chaplains first to Archbishops and Bishops, have had an Opportunity of displaying their great Abilities, and the World, by that Means, have been favoured with their valuable Works, which otherwise they might have been deprived of; and, as a Reward for the Labours of those learned

Mén, several of them have afterwards risen by Degrees to the first Posts in the Church; among which the most reverend and learned Dr. *John Potter*, the present Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* is a shining Instance; also the Right Reverend the Lords Bishops of *London* and *Peterborough*, who were formerly Chaplains to that venerable Prelate the late Archbishop *Tenison*.

7th of *February* they proceeded to their Catholick Majesty's Court, which was then held at *Seville*, who received them with the highest Tokens of Love and Respect; and on the 22d, in their Presence they were sworn Heirs of *Castile and Leon*. After this, Duke *Philip* and his Lady made a Progress thro' the Country, and on the 10th of *March* she was delivered of Prince *Ferdinand* at *Arcaia* in *Spain*, who became Emperor after his Brother *Charles*.

The renowned Prelate *Ximenes* was then Prime Minister to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; a short Relation of whose Original and extraordinary Rise here follows.

Origin and Rise of the famous Cardinal Ximenes.

His Father was a Man of Quality, but reduced so low, that he could scarce provide for his Son at School; so that *Ximenes* was obliged to read

Law in his Chambers to several Students, who contributed towards his Support at the University, employing his spare Time in the Study of Divinity. After he quitted the University he went for *Rome*, where he behaved so well, that he obtained from the Pope one of those they call *Speculative Bulls*; whereby he was to be provided with the first Prebend that should be void in his native Country, and it happened to be that of Arch-priest of the Borough of *Uceda*, which he was the more desirous of having, for the Conveniency of being at home, tho' the Revenue was mean. But the Archbishop of *Toledo* had bestowed it on his Almoner, yet *Ximenes* insisted on his Right. This Opposition was looked on as a high Contempt on the Archbishop, for which he was sent Prisoner to the Tower of *Uceda*, where, complaining of his hard Fate to an old Priest, his Fellow-Prisoner, he answered him, 'That a wise Man was always free, and lost not his Liberty even in Chains and Irons; cease then to complain, (says the old Gentleman) endure with Patience what now attends you. Suffering is often the Way to Preferment. In the very Place you are in,

‘ in, was locked up one that afterwards became Arch-
 ‘ bishop of *Toledo* ; great Miseries usher in some Per-
 ‘ sons to great Preferments, who, by Submission to
 ‘ the Divine Will, triumph over their Calamities ;
 ‘ the Innocency of your Visage, and Majesty of your
 ‘ Countenance, are, in my Judgment, Presages of the
 ‘ like Fortune to you.’ After a while *Ximenes*, being
 released from his Confinement, soon quitted publick
 Life for a Cloister. The Gravity of his Manners,
 and the Holiness of his Life, invited those of the first
 Quality to visit him, and his Fame soon reached the
 Court ; and Princes having Privilege to select out of
 Cloisters Men of great Parts and eminent Characters,
 to partake of their Favours, *Isabella*, the famous
 Queen of *Spain*, chose the sagacious *Ximenes* from
 among his Brethren, and called him out of a re-
 cluse Life to attend the Court in the Year’1492,
 where he soon gave full Proofs of his Abilities :
 But, the Mode of a Court not suiting the natural
 Bent of his Mind, it was not long before he quitted
 that Station, and entered into the religious Order of
Beggars, for which he was so unfit, that one of his
 Order told him, *No Man was more certainly born to*
give to all, and beg of none, than he.

In 1496 the Archbishop of *Toledo* died, on which
 Queen *Isabella* spared no Pains to have *Ximenes* pre-
 ferred to that high Dignity, and accordingly he was
 therein placed, where every Day, by his great Actions,
 he became more and more famous, as well in respect
 to his faithful Services for his Prince, as his due At-
 tention to the real Interest of his Country, which his
 many noble and generous Foundations will testify to
 latest Posterity.

He first founded a fine College at *Arcala*, his na-
 tive Place, where Prince *Ferdinand* was born, which
 favourable Incident *Ximenes* did not fail to improve,
 and laid hold of the Opportunity of the general Re-
 joicing on that Occasion to get the College, founded

there by him, exempted from Taxes, and all manner of Impositions ; and the Inhabitants of *Arcala*, in Memory of this Favour, keep to this Day the Cradle of Prince *Ferdinand*, for whose Sake they were remitted, and bless the Name of *Ximenes*, who procured the Exemption.

As he was going from his Lodgings, the Day the young Prince was born, he met the Officers of Justice leading a Malefactor to the Gibbet, whom he stopt, and granted the wretched Criminal a Pardon ; telling him, ‘ That tho’ it was an Action beyond his Authority, yet so much ought to be allowed upon a Day of general Joy to all *Spain*. ’

After this he built another College, which he set apart for *Maids of honest Families*, whose Parents were unable to provide for them ; and, adjoining to it, a Nunnery, for the Entertainment of such who were inclined to bid farewell to the World ; with this proviso, that none should be taken into it, but such as came voluntarily ; and to those who desired to lead secular Lives, besides their Education, he gave honourable Portions, and disposed of them in Marriage, according to their Conditions ; a most laudable Foundation indeed ! And it is greatly to be lamented, that, among the numerous beneficent Acts, by which the Generosity of the *British* Nation is distinguished, there should be no Foundation of this kind erected among us, for the Benefit of the *Female Sex*, which might be the Means of making a handsome Provision for destitute young Women, descended from good Families, whose Qualities render them unable to undertake servile Employment, and who may be of too tender a Composition to endure Hardships. What greater Instance of Humanity can any Person give, or how be more capable of promoting the Good of Civil Society, than by projecting a Method, that those, who have been unhappily left by indulgent, tho’ not opulent, Parents, may, by being properly educated and provided

vided for, become both useful and ornamental to their Country: And as there has lately appeared amongst us a laudable and noble Spirit, in erecting an Hospital for *poor deserted Infants*, (which had been many Years a projecting) it induced us the rather to mention *Ximenes's* noble and well-judged Foundation, in hopes some generous Persons may be excited, one time or other, to follow so great and shining an Example, and *go and do likewise*.

But to proceed: The beginning of this Year the *French* and *Spaniards* were very busy in settling the Limits of their respective Conquests in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which soon afforded Matter for Disputation, some Articles not being clearly expressed in the Treaty: Both sides proceeded to Violence, and the two Kings, upon the Advice of the Quarrel, declared, that it was not their Design to decide the Matter by Force of Arms, and ordered the Standards of *France* and *Spain* to be set on the Towers of those Cities, about which the Dispute arose, till the Affair could be amicably determined. Notwithstanding this Order, it was thought the two Generals were desirous of War, that they might have the Glory of getting the whole Kingdom for one of their Masters. *Gonsalvo* was all this while at the Head of the *Spanish* Forces, and the Duke of *Nemours*, whom the King had made Viceroy of *Naples*, commanded the *French* Army.

The Cause of the Quarrel between the French and Spaniards, after their conquering Naples.

They were so near each other, and their Stations so intermixed, that it was difficult to avoid all Occasions of Quarrel. *Gonsalvo* begun Hostilities, as the *French* say, and drove them from *Tripalda*, and made an Attempt to surprize *Troja*, but was repulsed.

By this time the Viceroy received a Reinforcement of Men and Money, and, being by that Means made stronger than *Gonsalvo*, he made Reprisals on him, entered *Capitana*, and subdued it, except two Places.

Gonsalvo,

Gonsalvo, observing that the *French* were superior to him in Force, to prevent a Surprise, throwed up Intrenchments at *Barlette*, where his head Quarters then was, determining there to make a Stand against them, if they should attack him.

The King, upon Advice of the Taking of *Tripalda* by the *Spaniards*, advanced to *Lyons*, and from thence proceeded into *Italy*, as well to encourage his Army, as to suppress, by his Authority, the great Disturbances then on Foot in *Tuscany*, which were likely to be very prejudicial to the Affairs of *Naples*.

Florence was infested with Civil Wars, on account of *Peter de Medicis*, who was driven out of *Florence* in the Reign of *Charles* the VIIIth, as we have before related. In short, this Prince had made himself Master of *Arezzo*, besides other Places, and was preparing to act further when the King arrived in those Parts. As soon as his Majesty appeared, he not only stopt his Progress, but obliged *Medicis* to give up the Places he had taken from the Republick, by which Means the Peace of that State was again restored.

His Majesty's next Care was to look into the Condition of his new conquered Kingdom of *Naples*, where he found the Face of Affairs greatly changed in his Favour, his Troops having stopt *Gonsalvo's* Progress, and seemed to be in a Condition of making head, with Success, against that daring Commander, in case he came out of his Intrenchments. *Lewis*, from so fair a Prospect, apprehending Matters in those Parts were in a good Situation, set out for *France*, where he quickly arrived.

The King was no sooner gone, but the Duke of *Nemours* was for entering upon Action; he immediately called a Council, where it was deliberated what was best to be done at this Juncture. Notice was taken, that *Gonsalvo* was then intrenched at *Barlette*. It was proposed by *D'Aubigny*, the honest *Scotchman*, that the best Way would be to attack *Gonsalvo* in his Intrenchments,

ments, because, as the choicest of the *Spanish* Troops were there, it might be a decisive Blow, in case of Success; but, unfortunate for *France*, he was overruled, it being only carried for blocking up *Barlette*, the Conduct of which the Duke of *Nemours* took upon himself.

In the mean time the Marshal *D'Aubigny*, with a Body of Forces, marched to *Calabria*; in his Way he heard, that *Hugo de Curdone*, a *Spanish* General, was landed at *Reggio* with a considerable Force, and therefore resolved to engage him instantly. Accordingly, *D'Aubigny* came up with the *Spaniards* on *Christmas-Day*, and attacked and defeated them, killing no less than 1000 Men upon the Spot, and took 1500 Prisoners, with 15 Colours.

Matters did not succeed so well at *Barlette*, there the Duke failed in what he proposed; for *Gonsalvo*, as soon as he found the *French* Army was divided, marched out of *Barlette* with Part of his Forces, and surprized *Rubos*, an important Post, and took the Commander Prisoner. This Loss was preceded by that of *Castellamette*, a small Town, which made the Conquest of *Barlette* yet more difficult. It was said, these Misfortunes would have been prevented, if the Duke had not been disappointed of the Forces he expected from *Milan*, and which he was deprived of by the following Accident.

The *Swiss* Cantons, that were neighbouring upon the *Milanese*, had, as we have observed, seized *Bellinzonne*; this City the King claimed as Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*; and they on their Part insisted, it belonged to their *Canton*, and therefore demanded, that *Lewis* would give up his Pretensions thereto; upon his refusing they took up Arms, and prevailed with some of the other Cantons to join them, and then they marched in a hostile Manner into *Milan*; inasmuch, that *Chaumont* (who had been lately made Governor of the Dutchy in the room of *Charles D'Amboise*)

boise) was surprized to see at his Heels an Army of no less than 15,000 Men, he being unprepared to resist them.

In this Situation he was obliged to stop the March of the Troops going to the Assistance of the Duke of *Nemours*, and employ his Thoughts wholly on making proper Dispositions to ward off the rapid Designs of the *Swiss*; for that Purpose he posted his Army upon the Plain at the Head of the Passages to the Mountains; and, in order to hinder their penetrating further into the Dutchy, next he sent a Sum of Money to the *Swiss* Camp, which was distributed among several of their Officers; this caused a Division among them, the Forces of the *Cantons*, that lay remote from the *Milanesse*, and who had no Interest in preserving *Bellinzonne*, mutinied, and said, 'They would not break the Alliance with *France* for a private Quarrel,' and refused to act or proceed further. *Chaumont* laid hold of this lucky Incident, and proposed an Accommodation, which at length was accomplished without Bloodshed, upon the following Terms: The Governor promised the *Swiss*, in the Name of the King, not to disturb them in the Possession of the Town for a Time limited, and withal gave them hopes, that his Master would be prevailed on to quit his Pretensions to the Place. Matters being thus made up, the *Swiss* returned home.

The Emperor's Conduct in respect to France, and the Favours shewn by Lewis to Borgia.

The Emperor, during these Transactions, instead of making the King of *France* Satisfaction for so soon breaking the Treaty he had made with him at *Trent*, endeavoured to do him greater Injury, by setting the Pope and the King at Variance, but, miscarrying in this Piece of *Finesse*, it broke for the present all his Measures; however, it had this Effect, that, when the Duke of *Valentinois* waited on him, in his Return out of *Italy* into *France*, his Majesty received him with



JAMES IV. K. of SCOTLAND



more than ordinary Demonstrations of Kindness and Honour, and granted him and the Pope many Favours, which he otherwise would not have done. Those Concessions encouraged both the Pope and his Son to continue their Acts of Rapine and Oppression wherever they came; yet, as if Heaven had threatned Indignation to their black and diabolical Machinations, several remarkable Accidents then fell out, that seemed to warn them from their wicked Courses, but these made no Impression either on the old Father or his Son; they went on as before, which brings us to the Conclusion of the Year 1502.

We have already spoke of the Agreement for the Espousals of *James* the IVth, King of *Scotland*, with the Princess *Margaret*, and, on the 25th of *January* this Year, the same was published in solemn Form at *St. Paul's Cross*, for Joy whereof *Te Deum* was sung throughout the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and other Rejoycings were made suitable to so happy an Union.

Affairs of England and Scotland.

1503.

In the Month of *June*, the young Princess was conducted by the King her Father, as far as *Calveleston* in her Way to *Scotland*, (where the Countess of *Richmond* his Mother then resided) there *Henry* delivered her to the Care of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who with a great Train of Lords and Ladies passed on with her to *York*, where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and worthy Inhabitants of that antient, noble City, not only received and entertained her in the grandest Manner, but also made her several valuable Presents, and, at her Departing, did themselves the Honour to accompany her out of the City in great State. At taking Leave, her Royal Highness declared, 'That she should never forget the Favours shewn her by them on this Occasion.'

From *York* the Earl attended her into *Scotland*, and, in the Month of *August*, her Marriage with King

M m

James

James was consummated at *Edinburgh*, * on which solemn Days were kept at Court for Banquetting, Masks, Revelling, Barriers, and Tilting, according to the Custom of those Days.

The Pope, soon after *Margaret* arrived in *Scotland*, presented the young King with a Sword and Diadem, wrought with Flowers of Gold, which was presented to him at *Holy Rood Palace*.

In Consequence of this Marriage, *James* the VIth of *Scotland*, and Iſt of *England*, Great-grandſon of Queen *Margaret*, mounted the *Britiſh* Throne ; and, in the Reign of the late glorious Queen *Ann*, the two Kingdoms were united ; which are, when ſpoke of jointly, called *Great Britain* ; and it is our hearty Wiſh, that, for the Good of both Kingdoms, the *Union* may for ever continue.

We cannot quit this Subject, without making a few Observations, and we ſhould think ourſelves happy, if we could convince the Gentlemen of the *North*, that this fortunate Event is as much for their Intereſt as ours.

The Words *Freedom* and *Free Kingdom* ſound ſo pathetic, are in themſelves ſuch valuable Bleſſings, and if the People of the *North* had loſt them, they might then

* It appears in *Rymer's Fædera*, Vol. 12 and 13, that the following Instruments paſſed before and after the Consummation of this Marriage.

1. A Bull of Diſpenſation for the King of *Scotland's* Vol. 12. Marriage with *Margaret*, p. 765. *ret*, dated the 5th of the Calends of *Auguſt*, 1500, at *Rome*.

2. A Commiſſion from the King of *Scotland* to contract in his Name *per verba de futuro vel preſenti*, and to ſettle the Terms of the Contract, dated *October* the 8th, 1501.

3. *James* the IVth's Marriage-Treaty with *Margaret*, dated *January* the 24th, 1502, P. 787. in the Royal Palace at *Richmond*; beſides her Jointure ſhe had, by this Treaty, Liberty to keep twenty-four *Engliſh* Do-meſticks, Men and Women.

4. The Settlement of the Queen Vol. 13. of *Scotland's* Jointure, dated *May* the 24th, 1503, at *Edinburgh*.

5. The Scots Parliament's Confirmation of the Jointure P. 62. ſettled on the Queen, dated *March* the 13th, 1504, at *Edinburgh*.

then justly have been displeased ; but in reality they never enjoyed them so much as since the *Union*. Before the Kingdoms were united, there was always a Contention who should be Master of the Borders. The *Scots* were sure to take all Opportunities to get the *English* Northern Counties into their Possession, and, after they had plundered them, the *English* were as sure to retake them, with considerable Advantage. When the *Scots* found they could not master the *English*, they used to call in the *French* to their Assistance, to whom the *Scots* were only Dupes ; for, whenever the *French* could make a good Peace for themselves, they never minded what became of the *Scots*.

Scotland lost always by War and Treaties with *England*, except in this *Union*. Now they trade without the Expence of a Fleet ; and many of their Merchants have more Money than some of their Kings had formerly. As for the poorer sort, who were meer Slaves before, they are now *free* ; for no Lord of the Manor can force their Service, or command their Lives, both which they could do in Time past.

James, by his great Liberality unto Strangers, and spending beyond his Income, in founding religious Houses, repairing Castles, and building Ships, (three whereof were of an extraordinary Bigness for those Times) became in want of Money to support the ordinary Expences of his Court, which was now greatly increased by his Marriage ; so that he run into Debt for Subsidies. The *Scotch* Writers say, ‘ He would ‘ not levy without the Consent of his Parliament, ‘ which he did not think proper to call.’ This put him upon consulting Men learned in the Law, in hopes of acquiring and gathering in Moneys by means of some of the Laws then in Force, tho’ obsolete, after the Example of his Father-in-law, *Henry* the VIIth.

One of these Laws was, ‘ That if the Possessor of ‘ any Lands die, and leave a Minor to succeed him, ‘ his Tutelage belongeth to the King, with the Pro-

‘ fit of the Land, ‘until he arrive at the full Age of ‘ 21 Years.’ This and some Penal Laws in Force were immediately put in Execution, by which several Sums of Money were brought into his Majesty’s Treasury ; and at the same time several Projectors and Informers endeavoured to persuade the King, that, in case they were encouraged, they should soon find out as many Forfeitures as would enable him to support the Dignity of the Crown, without asking any Aid of his Parliament.

As the King was generally beloved by his People, none refused to pay what the Law strictly demanded from them ; and his Majesty, perceiving the Readiness of his Subjects to comply even with the most rigorous Part of the Law, was charmed with their Duty and Loyalty ; but, seeing that many of his faithful Subjects were put to great Difficulties on that Account, out of his singular Grace and Goodness, he at once ordered a Forbearance of the Execution of those Laws, which was called *Polling his Subjects*, and, to satisfy his People that he was in earnest, he treated his ill Advisers as Enemies both to his Person and Government, and caused them to be thrown into Prison, where they soon after miserably ended their Lives. This Act of Clemency gained his Majesty the Hearts of all his People ; and, immortal would it have been to the Memory of *Henry* the VIIth, if he had followed so great and shining an Example : And, we believe, happier had it been for our Nation at this Time, if many opulent Personages of late Years had not been too much tinctured with *Henry’s* favourite Foible.

Soon after the Marriage of the Princess *Margaret* with *James* the IVth, two further Treaties were concluded between *England* and *Scotland* ; the one of perpetual Peace and Amity, and the other relating to the Outrages that might afterwards be committed on the Borders by the Subjects of either Kingdom.

The Joy of the People upon this Marriage soon abated by the much lamented Death of the Queen, which happened on the 11th of *February*. *Stow* says, ' In Child-bed, having been delivered of a Daughter, (who was named *Elizabeth*) in the Tower, who expired soon after her Mother.' The *English* Writers unanimously agree, ' That the King never loved her, tho' she bore him several fine Children ;' one of which was afterwards the famous *Henry* the VIIIth.

Hollingshead takes Notice, ' That the Queen was remarkable for her Virtue and Piety, and was generally called *The good Queen Elizabeth* : That Sir *Reginald Bray* died about this Time,' of whom he makes this remark, ' That he was, for his high Wisdom and singular Love to Justice, stiled *the Father of his Country* ;' and, if any thing had been done contrary to Law and Equity, he would in a peculiar Manner represent it to the King, which many Times had a good Effect.

Notwithstanding the King had been thus blessed with so good a Minister, and was certainly acquainted with the late Actions of his Son-in-law, the King of *Scotland*, yet he could not be prevailed upon to dismiss *Empson* and *Dudley*, who were pursuing the same Steps in *England*, which the *Projectors* and *Promoters* were severely punished for in *Scotland* : And the Manner of *Empson* and *Dudley*'s Proceedings was partly thus :

1st, They caused such as were reputed rich to be indicted of sundry Crimes, and, when the Bills were found by the Grand Jury, committed them forthwith, there to lie, till of themselves they desired to compound with the King ; but, if they delayed too long, these Ministers had their Emissaries ready to terrify them, by making them believe their Lives were in Danger ; so that the Parties were at length forced to come to Compositions, which perhaps tore from them the best Part of their Estates, tho' these Ministers

Ministers termed them Mitigations, as if the King had done them a Favour, in allaying the too great Rigour of the Law.

2d, At length they came to such a Height, that they proceeded without observing any Form of Justice, sending forth their Precepts to attach and cite People before themselves at their own private Houses, as a Court of Commission; and there, after a summary Proceeding by Examination, without Proofs or Witneses, passed Sentence and condemned them in large Fines to the King's Use. One would have thought all criminal Causes had belonged to that kind of Jurisdiction, which, tho' very rare in the foregoing Reigns, were grown common in this.

3d, They charged the Subjects Lands with Tenures *in Capite*, by finding false Offices, and suing them for Worships, Liveries, Premier Seifins, Alienations, &c. refusing, on divers Pretences and Delays, to admit People to traverse those false Offices according to Law: Hence they formed Variety of Proceses, whereof they themselves were the Judges, and which were always decided in favour of the Crown.

4th, When the King's Wards had accomplished their full Age, they could never have a Livery of their Lands without paying excessive Fines, contrary to the exprefs Tenor of *Magna Charta*: They also vexed Men with Informations of Intrusion upon scarce colourable Titles.

5th, When Men were outlawed in personal Actions, these Ministers would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, unless they paid great and intolerable Sums, keeping up the Rigour of the Law, which on Outlawries gives Forfeitures of Goods; nay, contrary to all Colour of Law, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of Men's Lands and Rents during two whole Years.

6th, They would also threaten the Jurors, and force them to find as they should direct; and if they re-

fused

fused to act as directed, they were cited, imprisoned, and fined.

We think this may suffice to shew what Wretches these Ministers were, and shall only say, that it discovers a poor Spirit, and a contemptible Ambition in a Prince, when he swells his Prerogative by catching at every Advantage of the Slips of his People ; it is separating himself from the tender Relation of a *Father* and *Protector*, a Character indispensibly attached to the Glory of a King, and the contrary is that of a *Foe* and an *Ensnarer*. And we wish we could say, that some of the Offices erected in *Henry's* Reign for collecting of Forfeitures, &c. were no longer hurtful to the Subject, thro' the Conduct of the present Managers. This the Lord *Shaftesbury* was so sensible might be the Case in his Time, that, upon swearing Mr. Serjeant *Thurland*, on his being appointed one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, particularly advises him in the following Manner : ‘ Let me recommend to
 ‘ you so to manage the King’s Justice and Revenue
 ‘ as the King may have most Profit, and the Subject
 ‘ least Vexation ; raking for old Debts, the Number
 ‘ of Informations, Projects upon Concealments, I
 ‘ could not find, in the Eleven Years Experience I
 ‘ have had in this Court, ever to advantage the Crown.
 ‘ But such Proceedings have for the most Part deli-
 ‘ vered up the King’s good Subjects into the Hands
 ‘ of the worst of Men.’

Though the King had been thus captivated, yet he was not altogether unwatchful to improve the Trade of his People ; for, as *Ferdinand* had, by means of *Christopher Columbus's* Expedition, made a successful Discovery of several Parts in the *West-Indies*, *Henry* thought proper to encourage his Subjects in the like Pursuit : And we find, in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that he was pleased to grant a Patent to *James Elliot* and *Thomas Asbburst*, Merchants of *Bristol*, and to *John Gonzalez* and *Francis Fernandez*, Na-
 tives

tives of *Portugal*, to go under *English* Colours in quest of unknown Countries. Upon certain Terms therein expressed, his Majesty gave these Merchants Leave to victual and man a Ship at *Bristol* for the Expedition, with whom were joined three small Ships, set out by some Merchants of *London*.

As *Columbus's* Discovery was only in the *South West* Parts of the World, these Adventurers were of Opinion, that there might be the like made in the *North West* Parts, and accordingly they sailed from *Bristol* Westward, to Latitude 67 Degrees and a half, and would have gone to *Cataia*, if the Sailors had not forced their Commander to return back; which, tho' in some respects it proved an abortive Voyage, gave such Satisfaction to his Majesty, of the Reality and Advantage that might be made in case of Success, that he granted new Commissions for a farther Attempt.

About this Time was brought to Court three Men, taken in the *Newfound* Islands, by *Sebastian Cabott*, who were cloathed in Beast Skins, and spoke a Language unknown; two of which were seen about two Years after in the King's Court at *Westminster*, dressed like *Englishmen*, neither could they be discerned from such.

Mr. Wolsey recommended to Pope Alexander, and the Death of Archbishop Dean.

Mr. Wolsey was now established agreeable to his Inclination, and, by his obliging and respectful Behaviour, he so gained the Favour of Archbishop *Dean*, that he was afterwards recommended to the Pope, who was pleased to grant him a Dispensation to hold two Benefices, that was looked upon in those Days as an Inconsistency*; but he was soon deprived of his Patron, for it appears that his Grace died on the 15th of *February* following, greatly lamented. The

* Alexander, *Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Thomæ Wuley, Rectori Parochialis Ecclesie de Lymington.*

The Archbishop was educated at the University of Oxford, and first made Abbot of *Lanthony*; then the King, perceiving him a wise and industrious Man; preferred him to the See of *Bangor*; from thence he was translated to *Salisbury*; but, before he left the former, he did several Acts for the Benefit of that See, particularly recovered certain Parcels of Land, which had been kept from his Predecessors almost Time out of Mind, among which was the Island of *Scales*. The Church and Palace at *Bangor* being burnt to the Ground, as it was said, by *Owen Glendower*, in *Henry* the IVth's Time, he bestowed a great deal of Money in rebuilding them; and, as he was desirous so necessary a Work should be compleated, he left his Successor a Mitre and Crozier of great Value, on Condition he finished these Buildings.

His Grace was buried at *Canterbury*, under a flat Marble Stone; the Epitaph on which (tho' long since defaced) was

Hic sub marmore jacet Corpus Reverendissimo.

By the Death of Archbishop *Dean*, and the Marquis of *Dorset*, *Wolsey* was become destitute of a Patron; but, as he was now further experienced in the Affairs of the World, (and being formed by Nature with all proper Qualities for obtaining Promotion) he looked out for one who had Interest at Court, hoping thereby to be some time or other employed there himself.

It so happened, that *Wolsey* had the good Fortune, according to his Wish, to be introduced to Sir *John Nephant*, Treasurer of *Calais*, who was a Gentleman greatly in Favour with *Henry* the VIIth. Some relate that Sir *John* was a Gentleman of *Somersetshire*, and that Mr. *Wolsey* had contracted an Acquaintance with him during his Residence in the West of England: But this Dr. *Fiddes* contradicts, and says, 'The Knight's Name was *Nanfan*, and a Gentleman of

*Mr. Wolsey made
Chaplain to Sir
John Nephant.*

‘ *Worcestershire*, and not of *Somersetshire*, and that his
 ‘ Seat was upon the Borders of *Herefordshire*, whose
 ‘ Arms is still to be seen in the Windows of the Hall
 ‘ of that Seat, and several of his Descendants are now
 ‘ living.’ Be that as it will, certain it is, Sir *John*
 was pleased to make *Wolsey* his domestick Chaplain,
 and to take him in his Retinue to *Calais*, which proved
 very lucky for him.

Wolsey had not been long in Sir *John*’s Service at
Calais, before he gained so much Favour, that he
 committed to his Care the entire Charge and Manage-
 ment of his Office. This Trust *Wolsey* so well dis-
 charged, that he gave Satisfaction both to the Knight
 and those whose Business called them to transact Af-
 fairs with him.

In a little Time after, King *Henry*
 was pleased, in Consideration of Sir
John’s great Age, to discharge him from
 that Office ; soon after which, he and
 his Chaplain returned to *England*, (where he did not
 forget *Wolsey*’s faithful Service) and with his Maje-
 sty’s Consent retired from Business, in order to spend
 the Remainder of his Life in the Country : But, at
 his taking Leave of the King, he so effectually re-
 commended *Wolsey*, that his Majesty appointed him
 to be one of his Chaplains.

Now *Wolsey* was got to the Step he had so much
 desired ; for many times he had used to say, *If he*
could but set one Foot in the Court, he did not doubt but
to obtain any thing he could wish for.

He here begun more closely to study the Know-
 ledge of Men and Things, (as he had done before
 that of Letters) and in which, by the incredible Pe-
 netration of his Wit, the Facility and Capaciousness
 of his Genius, accompanied with a profound Judg-
 ment, he made such a Progress that surprized many
 about him ; for it was not only his good Fortune that
 exalted him to that wonderful Greatness he after-
 wards

wards arrived to, but also his Industry and extraordinary Parts.

The first Thing *Wolsey* did, after he had obtained this Preferment, was to court the Favour of *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, who were very much trusted and respected by the King, and as he was by his Office frequently in the King's Presence, and said Mass in his Closet, he also endeavoured to improve those Seasons to serve other Ends.

Bishop *Fox* and Sir *Thomas Lovell* soon took Notice of *Wolsey's* uncommon Capacity and Diligence, who not only thought him worthy of Preferment, but of being employed in the important Affairs of the State, and it was not long before they had a proper Opportunity of doing him real Service; upon which they united in recommending him to the King for his fine Wit, Eloquence, Learning, and Affiduity.

No sooner was Archbishop *Dean* buried, but the King recommended Bishop *Warham* to succeed him, who accordingly obtained that great Preferment in the Church; and was likewise, from being Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, (which Office he had enjoyed ever since the Death of Cardinal *Morton*) raised to that of Lord High Chancellor.

*Warham made
Archbishop of
Canterbury, and
Lord Chancellor.*

Warham was enthroned Archbishop in such solemn State and Grandeur as scarcely to be credited; therefore we are induced to give the Particulars of this pompous Instalment, in order to shew the great Respect paid to Archbishops and Bishops in those Days, even by the greatest Peers of the Realm: And, by this Specimen of the Splendor of their Feasts on solemn Occasions, it fully appears, that *Wolsey* was not the only Ecclesiastick that made grand Entertainments; which must greatly take off that Reproach on him, of being the sole Person in his Time that affected Pomp and Grandeur; for, tho' *Henry* the VIIth was not at this Feast, as *Henry* the VIIIth was

at many of *Wolfey's*, yet, it's said, this Entertainment was equal to any provided by *Wolfey*; and, without doubt, had the Feast been at *London*, instead of *Canterbury*, we should have found *Henry* the VIIth one of the Archbishop's Guests.

On this Occasion no less a Person than the Duke of *Buckingham* was the Archbishop's High Steward, and on the 8th of *March* he set out for *Canterbury*, attended with a Train of one hundred Horsemen, being soon followed by this Reverend Prelate, who was accompanied by several Bishops, Abbots, Noblemen, and other Persons of the first Distinction, besides a very great Retinue. The Duke having arrived and seen that Matters were in Readiness to receive the Archbishop, he set out from *Canterbury* with his Attendants, and at a small Distance from that City met him, and conducted him to the Gate of *Christ-Church*, and here the Prior and Convent received the venerable Father, and walked barefooted before him to the Cathedral.

On the 12th of *March* he was placed on the Throne, prepared for him in the Church, habited with all the Robes and Ensigns of Sacredness and Honour appertaining to so great a Dignity, being surrounded by an infinite Number of People, both Clergy and Laity.

The Archbishop was also attended to the Cathedral by a Monk from the Prior of *Canterbury*, bearing a large Cross, which he delivered to his Grace, repeating these Words,

Reverend Father,

'I am the Messenger of the great King that doth require and command you to take on you the Government of this Church, to love and defend the same, in Token whereof I deliver you this Ensign.'

His Pall was sent him by the Pope, and delivered by a Bishop, and then he took an Oath to his Holiness to the following Effect:

‘ I, *William*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, will be faithful and obedient to *St. Peter*, to the holy Apostolick Church of *Rome*, and to my Lord *Alexander* the VIth, and his Successors, that shall be canonically elected. I will not consent to, nor engage, or design against their Lives, Limbs, or Liberties ; the Secrets they shall intrust me with, either by themselves, their Legates, or by Letters, I will not willingly reveal to any one to their Prejudice. I will assist them in maintaining and defending the Papacy, and the Rights of *St. Peter*, against all Persons whatsoever. As far as it consists with my Order, I will honourably attend the Legate of the Apostolick See, both at his Coming and Returning, and will supply him in his Necessities. When I am called to a Council I will come, except I shall be hindered by some lawful Impediment. I will visit the Apostolical Palace every three Years, either in my own Person, or by my Deputy, except I shall be excused by Leave from the Pope. The Possessions belonging to my Archiepiscopal See I will not sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant any new Infeoffments of them, nor any other way alienate without the Consent of the Pope. So help me God, and his Holy Gospel.’

After the Service of the Church was gone thro’ in its utmost Solemnity, the Archbishop proceeded to his Palace, attended by the Duke, his High Steward, and the rest of the Company, where a grand Entertainment was provided.

At the Table with the Archbishop sat the Earl of *Essex*, the Bishops of *Rocheſter* and *Man*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, the Lord *Brook*, the Prior of *Canterbury*, and the Abbot of *St. Auguſtines*.

Before the first Dish was served up, the Duke came riding into the Hall bare-headed, and paid his Compliments to the Archbishop and his Company, and then retired to his own Table, in another Apartment, at which were placed the Lord *Chirton*, Sir *Edward Poyningſ*,

ings, Lord Chief Justice *Phineaux*, Sir *William Scot*, Sir *Thomas Kemp*, and others.

Besides these two Tables, there was one at which Noblemen and Knights sat; another was filled with Doctors of Divinity and Law, and others with the Gentlemen of the Country, besides many more with Multitudes of Persons of inferior Degrees. In short, the Companies were placed according to their respective Qualities and Conditions in Life.

Journal of the War in Italy, &c. The Beginning of this Year Arch-duke *Philip* returned to *Flanders* by Land, having first propos'd himself to be a Mediator between his Catholick Majesty and *Lewis*, assuring him the King of *France* was very wil-

ling to settle their late Differences in an amicable Way, and *Ferdinand* at last consented to his Son's Desire. Being thus prepared the Arch-duke proceeded to *France*, and soon arrived at *Lyons*, where the King had made some Stay, in his Return from *Italy*, with the Cardinal *D'Amboise*.

It is scarcely credible with what Magnificence and Honour *Philip* was received, by the King's Orders, in the different Towns as he pass'd on in the *French* Dominions, *Lewis* being very desirous of gaining his Favour and Good-will in the present Juncture of Affairs. Nor was *Philip* wanting on his Part to remunerate the Honours and Favours shewn him by *Lewis* with a Magnanimity and Generosity adequate to his princely and august Station.

These Princes had not been long together, before they concluded a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, which was sign'd at *Blois* by the King and the Arch-duke, and runs thus:

' First, That a Suspension of Arms should be immediately proclaim'd in the Kingdom of *Naples* between the *French* and *Spaniards*.

' Second, That, in Virtue of the Marriage concluded between Madam *Clauda* of *France*, the King's Daughter,

‘ Daughter, and *Charles of Austria*, Son to the Arch-
 ‘ duke, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* should divest
 ‘ themselves, the one of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and
 ‘ the other of the Dutchies of *Calabria* and *Poville*, in
 ‘ Favour of the young Prince and Princess, who
 ‘ from that Time should bear the Title of King and
 ‘ Queen of *Naples*, and Duke and Dutchess of *Cal-*
 ‘ *abria*.’

‘ *Third*, That what the King of *France* had pos-
 ‘ sessed in that Country before the War should be go-
 ‘ vern’d in the Name of *Clauda*, by a Lord of *Lewis*’s
 ‘ naming; and that *Philip* should in like manner
 ‘ govern that which the King of *Spain* was in the
 ‘ present Possession of, in the Name of his Son.

‘ *Fourth*, That the Dispute concerning the Coun-
 ‘ try called *Capitinata*, which had been the main Oc-
 ‘ casion of the War, should continue as it was, and
 ‘ that the same should be decided by unprejudiced Ar-
 ‘ bitrators to be chosen by the two Kings.’

Lewis on the Conclusion of this Treaty, (famous
 for the Cession of the Kingdom of *Naples* from *France*
 to *Spain*) thinking that a Peace would infallibly en-
 sue, kept back the Succours preparing for *Italy*; but
 he learn’d to his Cost, that there is no securer Way
 to put an effectual End to War, than by preparing as
 if it were to be carried on with more Vigour than
 ever.

The King of *France*, in Pursuance of the Treaty,
 sent an Order to his General, the Duke of *Nemours*,
 and the Arch-duke, on the Part of the King of
Spain, sent likewise an Order to the *Spanish* General,
Gonsalvo, to forbear Hostilities on both Sides: But, to
Nemours’s great Surprize, upon his imparting to *Gon-*
salvo the Orders he had received, he sent for An-
 swer, that he could not obey the Arch-duke’s Com-
 mand, without having first consulted the King his
 Master. The Truth was, *Ferdinand* had acquainted
 him with the Occasion of *Philip*’s Journey to
Lyons,

Lyons, and at the same time ordered him to pay no Regard to what should be written to him from that Quarter, till he had received farther Directions from *Spain*. This is only one noted Instance of the Treachery of *Ferdinand*, which was his common Behaviour to every Prince he had to do with, nay, he did not spare even those that had married his Daughters.

The little Regard paid to the Treaty was soon followed by two signal Actions, the first fought the 21st of *April* in *Calabria*, where *D'Aubigny*, one of the *French* Generals, was defeated in the very Place that he had some time before, with great Glory, conquered both *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, and *Gonsalvo*, the *Spanish* General. By this Victory the *Spaniards* gained several Towns from the *French*.

A second Action, more considerably injurious to the *French*, was in eight Days after the first Engagement, in which the Duke de *Nemours*, the *French* General, in his Attack on *Gonsalvo*, was killed by a Musket Shot. The Death of this Commander having spread a general Terror among the Soldiers, *Gonsalvo*, perceiving the Disorder of the *French*, issued out of his Camp, and finished the Defeat; and tho' Night coming on prevented a greater Slaughter, yet the whole Army dispersed, fled to the Woods, and abandoned the Artillery and Baggage.

The *Spanish* Historians make three thousand three hundred killed of the Enemy's Side, but the *French* Annals add another thousand, and make only nine *Spaniards* slain, among which was not one Man of Note.

General *D'Aubigny*, after his Defeat, escaped to the Castle of *Antigola*, where, seeing no Likelihood of Assistance, he capitulated, on Condition that his Garrison should have Liberty to go where they pleased, but himself to remain Prisoner. In short, the Victories the Grand Captain, *Gonsalvo*, obtained, he so well improved,

improved, that before the End of *June* the *French* were drove out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, whereby *Ferdinand* became Master of that Country, save some few Sea-port Towns that still remained in the Hands of the *Venetians*.

Lewis, upon receiving the bad News of the Defeat and Destruction of his Forces in *Naples*, took much to Heart the treacherous Treatment he had met with from *Ferdinand*, and held several Councils to consult how to revenge himself on so unjust an Enemy, and at last they came to the Resolution of setting on foot four Armies, three of them to be employ'd at Land, and one at Sea: The Command of the Body of Forces at Land was given to the famous General *Trimoville*, consisting of eighteen thousand Foot, and near two thousand Men at Arms, who were directed to march to *Naples*, in order to recover, if possible, that Country, and the other three were design'd for attacking *Spain*. The first of which, commanded by the Lord *D'Albret* and the Marshal *de Gie*, consisted of five thousand Foot, *Swiss* and *French*, and about one thousand Men at Arms, were sent to make an Irruption towards *Fontarabia*. The second, commanded by the Marshal *de Rieux*, which was almost twice that Number, had Orders to enter *Spain* by *Roussillon*, while the Fleet was to be employ'd in scouring the Coasts of *Catalonia* and *Valencia*.

The Army under the Command of *le Trimoville* moved but slowly, and on its Arrival in the Territories of *Sienna*, the General was seized with a Distemper that put him very much out of Sorts: But that did not hinder the *French* Forces from being drawn up at *Parma*; and as *Lewis* was now deprived of the best of his Generals by Death, Sickness and Imprisonment, he thought proper to give the Command of his Army in *Italy* to the Marquis of *Mantua*; this he did, to prevent the Marquis's declaring for the *Spaniards*, (who had very much solicited him) tho' at

best he was only a reconciled Enemy, it being but the preceding Year that the King had forbid the *Florentines* to take him for their General.

Just at this Time Pope *Alexander* died, (which put a Stop to the Progress of the Marquis's Arms for the present) whose Death was owing to a strange Accident that brought him to his deserved End in the following Manner.

*The Poisoning
Pope Alexander,
with his Cha-
racter.*

Alexander had made nine new Cardinals ; but, before they were admitted into the Sacred College, the Pope and his Son had, as we have observed, conspired against their Lives, in order to come at their Wealth ; but Divine Vengeance turn'd the Affair, and permitted their own Snare to be the Instrument of bringing on their exemplary Punishment, Ruin and total Downfal : For the Pope and *Borgia* had concerted to poison these Prelates. This Piece of Iniquity they design'd to have perpetrated at an Entertainment to be kept at a Vineyard near the Vatican, belonging to Cardinal *Adrian di Corneto*, who, as he was remarkably wealthy, was one singled out to fall a Victim, and for that Purpose *Borgia* prepared Wine mixed with Poison, and delivered it to the Pope's Butler, who they had let into the Secret, directed him to attend, and not let any one drink of it but those intended for the Slaughter. Accordingly, *August* the 10th, the Pope and his Son, about the Cool of the Evening, came to the Vineyard where they were to sup. Some Authors relate, that *Alexander* usually carried the Host in a Gold Box, out of a superstitious Notion he had received from a certain Astrologer, that while he carried the holy Wafer about him he should never die, and which therefore he took Care not to be without ; but, having now left it in his Apartment in the Vatican, upon missing it he dispatch'd his Butler to his Chamber to bring it hither ; and while he was gone, the Pope being very

very thirsty, desired the under Butler to give him some Drink, who, finding six particular Flasks laid by in a Corner, imagining they might contain Wine of a finer Sort than the rest, he filled out a large Glas of the poisoned Liquor; this he delivered to the Cup-bearer, and he to his Holiness, who, not apprehending any Danger, (being eager to drink, and his Mind running upon nothing but the wicked Scene of Mischief and Villainy he was about to act) without Hesitation swallow'd the Draught, as did his Son another Glas mixed with Water.

Immediately the Poison began to work in *Alexander's* Bowels to such a Degree, that he fell suddenly off his Chair in a Fit, and was taken up for dead: Nor did his Son *Borgia* escape the Effect of his own Handy-work, being in like manner seized with rack-ing Agony and tormenting Pain. The Cardinals coming in the mean time, and finding what had happened they instantly retired, leaving Directions for conveying the Pope and his Son to their respective Apartments in the Vatican, and from that Time they never saw each other again.

The Pope in some small Degree recovered his Senses, and was blooded and vomited, and all Kinds of Remedies used for his Recovery, but in vain; for, after receiving all the Sacraments of the Church, he died on the 18th of *August*, in the 72d Year of his Age.

Borgia did not die at that Time, but, for his greater Scourge and Anguish, God permitted him to outlive his own Fortune and Grandeur, and to see himself depressed and his Enemies exalted; for, by the Vigour of his Youth, and Force of the powerful Antidotes given him by his Physicians, being frequently, as some say, put into the Belly of a Mule ripped up alive, by degrees he got the better of his Illness; notwithstanding, for many Months, he was often grievously sick and tortured.

‘ It cannot be denied, says a good Author, but Pope *Alexander* had the Advantage of a majestick Person, and was endow’d with Talents and a Capacity able to manage the Government of an Empire as extensive as that of *Alexander the Great*; but for Tyranny, Lust and Cruelty he was not to be matched with the most barbarous among the *Nero’s* or *Caligula’s*, having been the most scandalous of any that ever filled the Papal Chair, whose Life and Conduct was entirely repugnant to his pretended Belief and Profession.’

As soon as the Pope’s Death was publickly known, it occasioned so much Joy at *Rome*, and afterwards to all *Christendom*, as can scarcely be expressed, they now seeing an End of that Tyranny which had terrified the whole World; so that, in Proportion as *Alexander* had been feared while living, he was despised and abhorred when dead. And so much was his very Burial and Funeral Rites neglected, that the above Author relates, After *Alexander’s* Death the Vice-Chancellor was under the Necessity of ordering the Officials of the Clergy, the Superiors of Convents, and the Confraternities of Seculars to attend at the Vatican, on the Penalty of being divested of their Dignities and Offices, which they did accordingly.’

The Corpse at first lay exposed to publick View, tho’ a most frightful and horrible Spectacle, and was so black, so much swelled and deformed, that it scarcely could be known; and, altho’ it was the constant Custom, at the Funerals of Popes, for the People to kiss the Hand of the deceased Pontiffs, yet no one offer’d this Token of Affection to *Alexander*. In the Evening the Corpse was carried, by a few Porters and two Carpenters, to the Chapel where it was to be interred, who all the Time jeered one another, deriding the Office they were about; and, as the Coffin happened to be too short, they beat in Part of the Corpse with their Fists, and scoffingly said to it, as if it had

been alive, Rome may now be assur'd you never shall get out of this Place. Finally, to shew the utmost Contempt, they placed it in a very mean Tomb, on the left Hand Side of the Altar in St. Peter's Church.

The following Epitaphs were made on Pope Alexander, and the violent Death he met with.

*The Spaniard * lieth here that did all Honesty defy,
To speak it briefly in this Tomb all Villainy doth lie.*

Another,

Left Alexander's noble Name, my Friend, should thee beguile,

*Away, for here both Treachery doth lurk and Mischief vile,
Though Alexander, after Death, did vomit Matter black,
Yet, marvel not, he drank the same, and could not cause
it back.*

As soon as Caesar Borgia was recovered he found himself not a little embarrassed, the Publick was so much infensed against him and his Family; the *Ursini* and the *Colonna's* were very troublesome, and even put all Rome into a Combustion; the Cardinals were exceedingly uneasy, the French and Spanish Armies having threatned to march up to Rome, and divest them of the Liberty of the Conclave; and, to shew they were in earnest, their Forces set forward, and the French Fleet also, which lay at Cajeta, was commanded to go and secure the Mouth of the Tiber.

Yet these different Proceedings had no other Effect than to retard the Election of a Pope for a Time, Means at last being found to prevail both on the French and Spaniards to order their Armies to halt, and to suffer the Cardinals to proceed to the Election of a Pope.

The

* Pope Alexander was born at Valencia in Spain.

*Pius the III^d
elected Pope,
who soon
after died.*

The Choice fell upon *Francis Piccolomini*, who assumed the Name of *Pius* the III^d, a Person whose Virtue and Conduct rendered him worthy of the Chair; and *Cæsar Borgia* gained so much Favour with him, that his Holiness was pleased to assign him Apartments in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and permitted him to enjoy the Estates that he acquired in the late Pontificate.

The Pope being elected and settled the Tumults in *Rome* began to subside, and Tranquillity appear: But this pious Pope was removed by Death the 18th of *October*, about twenty-six Days after he had been exalted to the Papal Chair, occasioned by a Gangrene or Sore in his Leg, which, some say, *Pandolfo Petrucci*, Lord of *Sienna*, had bribed his Surgeons to poison with the Plaister they laid to it. The Loss of him was regretted by the Generality of People, being very much beloved for his Merit and exemplary Life.

His Holiness's Nephews and Relations, on the first Report of his Promotion to the Holy See, were already flying to *Rome* like so many Bees; but, before they could get within the Gates, they received the sad News of their Uncle's Decease.

The Pope's Death exposed *Cæsar Borgia* a second Time to Fear and Danger; the Cardinal *de la Rovere* laying hold of this Opportunity to compass his Designs, he went to *Borgia* to desire the Votes of his Faction, and promised, if he should be chosen Pope, to continue him in the Dignity of General of the Holy See, in Possession of *Romagna* and the other Towns he had conquered in his Father's Time, (great Part of which had revolted) and that he would procure a Marriage between *Borgia's* Daughter and his own Nephew, Son to *Francis Maria de la Rovere*, his Brother.

Borgia now thought himself happy under his Misfortunes, accepted the Offer, and procured for *de la Rovere*

Rovere the Interest of the *Spanish* Cardinals, whose Prejudices against *Rovere*, relating to his Attachment for *France*, were not quite removed by his Conduct in the preceding Conclave. The Cardinal had the same Success with the *Italian* Cardinals, through the great Promises he made them ; so that it is manifest he was chosen Pope before the Conclave met, and accordingly was created on the first Meeting, *November* the first, (an unheard of Instance!) who took the Name of *Julius* the II^d.

Julius the II^d
elected Pope,
November
the first.

And it was Matter of Wonder to the serious Part of the People, that the Cardinals had so unanimously invested a Person with the Papal Dignity, who was of so turbulent a Disposition, so formidable to do Mischief, who had for the most Part spent his Life in Party Matters and Broils, and had consequently brought on himself the Hatred and Ill-will of many Persons of the first Rank: But, when it was considered on the other Hand that he had been for many Years a Cardinal, and was become very powerful; that his Magnificence far exceeded all others, as well as his singular Greatness of Soul; that he had gained the Character of the chief Defender of the Dignity and Privileges of the Church, and thereby obtained, as well as by his immoderate Promises, no small Number of Friends and Adherents of the Nobility, &c. his Election continued no longer Matter of Surprize.

The Populace received the News of his Election with extraordinary Demonstrations of Joy, because of the great Esteem they had for his Person; tho' *Alexander* the VIth had such an Aversion to *Julius*, that he kept him in Banishment from *Rome* for the Space of ten Years.

Julius, it's true, did own a great deal of Kindness for his Relations, but was very zealous to enrich the Church; and therefore said, *That he would have be-*

stowed

flowed upon his Kindred all that he bad, if all that he bad was not the Church's.

As soon as he was elected Pope he own'd to his Friends, that he had once been sincerely in the Interest of *France*, but that the Mortifications he had received from that Crown; by the frequent Breach of its Promises, had forced him to alter his Mind; that, tho' he was arriv'd at the Pontificate, he was not obliged to forgive the *French* for the Opposition they made against him, by keeping him eight Years out of it.

Disgrace and Death of Borgia *Borgia*, at the Time *Julius* was elected, had four Places left, which he offer'd to deliver into his Hands; but the Pope at first shew'd himself very generous, and would not accept of them, and withal told him, that he permitted him to retire where he pleas'd. This *Borgia* accepted of, and embarked on board a Galley at *Ostia*; in order to quit the Territories of the Church; but, before the Galley sail'd, the Pope changed his Mind, and caus'd him to be dragg'd from on board the Galley, and sent to Prison, where he was detain'd till his Holiness had got into Possession the Places *Borgia* first propos'd to deliver up: And that being done, *Julius* discharged him out of Prison, and suffer'd him to go to *Gonsalvo*, the *Spanish* General, who kindly received him. But after he had been with him some Time, *Gonsalvo* received Orders from his Master to send him into *Spain*, which he accordingly did, and no sooner was *Borgia* arriv'd in that Kingdom, but he was sentenc'd to perpetual Imprisonment. After he had been detain'd a Prisoner about three Years he found Means to make his Escape, and took Refuge under *John D'Albret*, King of *Navarre*, where he resid'd till the Year 1516, and then was kill'd in a Rencounter by a private *Gen d'Arm*, who knew him not. Thus ended the wicked Life of that more than vicious Prince.

It's

It's certain most Men have some Vanity, and thence a Fondness for Fame; and if, in acquiring it, they would establish that which is lasting, and avoid Reproach or Infamy, they must square their Actions by the Rule of Truth. With Posterity, little Evasions, false Colourings and Chicane will not pass for Reason, tho' they may for a time be imposed on our Contemporaries, who are too often influenced by Friendships, engaged in Parties, warmed and misled by Passion and Partiality. Death and Time destroy all Artifices; the Intentions of Men, with all their Motives and Pursuits, are then scanned to a Nicety. What avails now *Alexander* and *Borgia's* Craft and Subornations, their Power and high Posts? Does the Awe of Purple, or the Violence of the Sword, do Guards and perverted Laws secure their Memory, as they did their Persons? Do we, for Example, fear their Charges of Treason, or the vile Breath of their Informers, while we treat them as the Tyrants, Pests, and Oppressors of the Earth when living, as Suborners of Perjury, and Murderers in cold Blood? What is it to us, that the one was a Pope, and the other a Prince? Men of Sense find no Magick in Names, but regard Monsters as such, whatever Titles Fortune or Deceivers gave them, or they themselves assumed. Thus Tyrants suffer the Vengeance of After-Ages, and terrible it is to those who are tender of their Renown. Hence they ought to be more afraid of future Censure, which is generally well-grounded, and will certainly out-last temporary Praise, that is often false, fleeting, and at best to be suspected. Now, if Tyrants are hated and despised, surely the Indignation of Mankind cannot be less against Sycophants and Flatterers, who frequently change Princes into Tyrants, and make them worse than they would be?

About this Time there appeared a general Discontent among the People of *England*, owing to the cruel Proceedings of the

*Affairs of
England.*

Pp

King's

King's two infamous Ministers ; but this no ways affected his Majesty ; for his Mind was intent on Ways and Means to prevent a large Sum of Money from going out of his Pocket. He had received one hundred thousand Crowns in part of the Portion with *Arthur's* Princess ; but, as that Prince died without Issue, *Henry* was obliged either to return Half the Money, or, if he kept the Lady in *England*, to give her the third Part of the Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, Dukedom of *Cornwal*, and Earldom of *Chester* ; either of which were equally grievous to a Prince of *Henry's* covetous Temper ; however, he could not evade both without breaking with *Ferdinand*, a Step not eligible at present.

To carry this Point, and make all easy, his Project was to get *Catherine* married to his Son *Henry*, which would effectually secure the first hundred thousand Crowns, and procure the other. The King, big with these Expectations, caused Proposals to be made to *Ferdinand*, and he readily agreed to the Match, provided a proper Dispensation could be obtained. This *Henry* was in no doubt of, and therefore both Kings joined in applying to his Holiness for what was necessary, in the Name of the Prince and Princess : But, before the Messenger arrived at *Rome*, the Pope was dead, which for the present put a Stop to their Application. *Pius* was no sooner elected Pope, than he also died, and this was another Hindrance to the Affair. As soon as *Julius* was elected, the Petition being presented, he was pleased, by a Bull dated the 20th of *November*, to grant a Dispensation to the Purport following :

‘ The Tenor of the Petition lately preferred to us
 ‘ in your Behalfs bears, That whereas heretofore you,
 ‘ (Daughter *Catherine*, and *Arthur* then living) lawfully
 ‘ contracted Matrimony in the Words *de presenti*, (or
 ‘ from this Time forward) and perhaps consummated
 ‘ it

it by a carnal Copulation, and the said *Arthur* died without Issue by the said Marriage :

And seeing that, as it is subjoined in the Petition, ye desire to be lawfully married in the Words *de presenti*, for the Sake of continuing the Bond of Peace and Friendship between the King of *England* and the King and Queen of *Spain*, in order to which ye have caused Supplication to be made to us, that we would, of our Apostolical Grace and Favour, vouchsafe to grant you a proper Dispensation on account of the Premises :

We therefore, who wish to see the Charms of Peace and Concord flourish among all Believers in Christ, but especially the Catholick Kings and Princes, being inclined to grant your Petition, absolve you, and each of you, from all Excommunication, Suspension, Interdict, and other Ecclesiastical Sentences, Censures, and Penalties whatsoever, whether by Law of God, or Man, or for what Cause soever inflicted upon you, or that in the Case before-mentioned may be by Suit yet depending : And out of our mere special Grace and Favour, by the Tenor of these Presents, We do dispense with you, so that any Impediment thro' the foresaid Affinity between you, any Apostolical Constitutions, or Ordinances, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding, you may lawfully contract Marriage together *per verba de presenti* ; and when it is so contracted, altho' it should have been already either publickly or privately contracted, and perhaps consummated by carnal Copulation, that you may lawfully remain in that State : And by the same Authority We absolve you, and each of you ; if you have contracted Marriage as aforesaid, from the Sentence of Excommunication, which ye have thereby incurred. And we do further pronounce all the Children legitimate, either already or yet to be born from the said Marriage, either now or hereafter to

be

‘ be contracted. Provided that you (*Daughter Catherine*) did not suffer a Rape.

‘ And We require, if ye have *actually* contracted such Marriage, a Confessor, to be chose by you or either of you, enjoin some healthful Pennance for so doing, which ye are hereby bound to perform. Let no Man therefore, &c.’

This is the Substance of that famous Bull, the Validity of which was so much disputed in the Affair of the Divorce of *Queen Catherine* from *Henry* the VIIIth.

If *Arthur*’s Marriage with *Catherine* had not been *actually* consummated, as the Lady afterwards affirmed, it’s surprizing, that *Julius* the II^d should not be acquainted with so favourable a Circumstance, which would have been a better Plea for the Dispensation, than the pretended Reason for maintaining the Peace between *England* and *Spain*.

When the Dispensation was obtained, Prince *Henry* was not thirteen Years old, and consequently not of a suitable Age to consummate Marriage, and therefore it was delayed till a more proper Time.

The Affairs of the *French* at this Time, (out of *Italy*) were attended with very bad Success; for the Army, sent by them to the Confines of *Fontarabia*, was, thro’ ill Conduct and the Want of Money, very soon broke and disbanded; and their Fleets having met with as bad Treatment on the Coast of *Spain*, had retired to *Marseilles*; and the Army that marched to *Perpignan*, in which the *French* King so much confided, besieged the Town of *Sal* in vain, and were obliged to retire.

Then the King of *Spain* begun a new Game; he pretended, that he would willingly replace King *Frederick* on the Throne of *Naples*, provided the King of *France* would agree to it; which put *Frederick* upon labouring to accommodate the Differences that had risen between the two Crowns; this he so far effected,

ed, that both Kings agreed to a Truce for five Months, but that only respected their Dominions out of *Italy*.

Upon this the King of *Spain* sent Ambassadors into *France*, who managed Matters with such Cunning and Art, as to make *Frederick* believe, that the King of *France* was the only Person that obstructed his being re-established in *Naples*; tho' the real Truth was, both *France* and *Spain* had their Eyes on nothing so much as the Conquest and Keeping that Kingdom.

The *French* Army in *Italy*, as soon as *Julius* was elected Pope, entred upon Action, and advanced thro' the Country leading towards *St. Germano*; whereupon *Gonsalvo* placed Garrisons in *Rocca*, *Secca*, and *Monte Casino*, and so posted the Remainder of his Forces, that he soon put a Stop to the Progress of the Enemy.

The *French*, in their March, were joined by the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and the Troops from *Gaeta*, which enabled them to get Possession of the Dutchy of *Trajetto*, and soon after the whole Country of *Fondi*, as far as the River *Garigliano*; but, finding they could not dislodge the *Spaniards* from their strong Holds, were forced to seek for a Passage over the River nearer the Sea-side; so that after they had halted two Days near *Aquino*, they took that Town, and left in it seven hundred Foot, and then passed on to *Ponto Curvo*, marching by the Way of *Fondi*.

These Proceedings of the *French* Army were judged to be of great Importance; for, as *Gonsalvo* was inferior to them in Strength, nothing seemed to appear that could hinder them, after they had got over the River, from marching directly to the very Walls of *Naples*; and, having a considerable Fleet at Sea, the *French* Generals now apprehended Matters had a good Aspect.

Gonsalvo thereupon marched with all his Forces, in order to oppose the Enemy, and a smart Engagement ensued, which ended in their disappointing them as to passing the River. On the *French* Side *Bagli di Digiano*

Digiano was slain, and in the *Spanish* Army *Fabio Paolo*, *Orfino's* Son : It was said, had the *French* pushed on courageously, they would in all Probability have gained the Day, but, by shewing a kind of Timidity, they lost the Victory, and with it their Hopes of future Success ; for, from that Time their Affairs grew worse and worse.

Many of the *French* Writers lay the Blame of this Miscarriage on the Marquis of *Mantua*, who they accused of holding a secret Correspondence with the *Spaniards* ; but others say, that among the *French* Commanders there was no small Disorder and Contention ; for the *French*, according to their wonted Custom, disdaining to be commanded by *Italian* Officers, did therefore not obey the Orders given them by their chief General ; for which Reason he left the *French* Service.

After his Departure the Marquis of *Saluzzo* took upon him the Command of the Army, and ordered a Rampart to be made near the Entry of a Bridge that secured a Passage over the River, where they also built a Bastion to hold a large Number of Men, so that the *Spaniards* could not now annoy them, and therefore the *French* passed over in Safety ; but other Incidents soon fell out which defeated all their Projects, as well thro' the Bravery and Resolution of *Gonsalvo*, who despised Fatigue, as their own bad Conduct.

Gonsalvo was encamped about a Mile from the River, where his Army was in a very bad Condition, for want of Pay, and thro' the Rigour of the Season, the Winter being far advanced : And, as the *French* were passed the River, *Gonsalvo* was advised to retire to *Capua*, that his People might suffer the less, and shun the Danger that seemed to hang over their Heads, their Pursuers being still superior to them in Number ; but this Advice was with great Magnanimity rejected by him, telling his Advisers, *That he rather desired his own Grave should not be a Hand's breadth from*
the

the Enemy, than, by removing backwards a few Paces, to be sure to live a hundred Years. With this singular Constancy of Mind, he suffering patiently all the Uneasiness and Inconveniencies he met with, and, having fortified his Camp, he resolved in this Situation to defend himself, if attacked. This put the *French* at a full Stand, and made them winter in very cold and comfortless Quarters, on which a great Sickness among them followed; insomuch, that the *Italian* Troops, in their Service, deserted, and their Number otherwise decreased visibly every Day; but what contributed most to their Ruin, was the Discord among the Commanders, who observed neither Discipline nor Order. In fine, the *French* being frustrated in their Designs, partly by the Stedfastness of *Gonsalvo*, and partly by the Bitterness of the Winter Season, no material Action ensued; only now and then a small Skirmish, in which generally the *Spaniards* got the better: Many of the *French* Officers, as well as Soldiers, died, while the Enemy encreased their Numbers, by the Addition of the *Ursini* and others; so that *Saluzzo* was so far reduced, that, instead of attacking of *Gonsalvo*, as he intended, he was obliged to retreat to *Cajeta*.

Gonsalvo lost no Time, but immediately 1504. besieged *Saluzzo* at *Cajeta*, and the Marquis, finding a terrible Famine would be with him sooner than any Relief, capitulated, *January* the 1st, that the Soldiers might depart either by Sea or Land into *France*, and all Prisoners be released without Ransom, with whom the Marshal *D'Aubigny* obtained his Liberty, and returned into *France*; but the Article, in respect to setting the Prisoners at Liberty, not being clearly worded, *Gonsalvo* afterwards took Occasion to dispute the Matter, alledging, that, by Virtue of the Stipulation, those other Noblemen of the *French* Party, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, were not included.

Peter of *Medici*, who followed the *French* Camp, met with a greater Misfortune than this; for, at the same

same Time they decamped at *Garigliano*, he and several other Lords, having with them four Pieces of Artillery, embarked in a large Boat, with a Design to sail for *Gaeta*; but the Weight of the Metal, and Number of Passengers were so great, that, at the Mouth of the River, the Winds being contrary, the Boat sunk, and they were all drowned.

By this Defeat at *Garigliano*, on the Banks of which the *French* had lain for the Space of fifty Days, they entirely lost the noble and opulent Kingdom of *Naples*; and of the whole *French* Army very few were saved, or escaped Imprisonment or Death; most of those Foot, who thought to have saved themselves by Flight, perished on the Roads thro' Hunger and Cold; and those who got alive to *Rome* were in a naked and miserable Condition, Numbers of them died in the Hospitals, and many even in the Streets. Nor were the Misfortunes which attended the *French* Nobility in the Army less calamitous, occasion'd by the Hardships they had undergone while lying at *Garigliano*, many of whom either died on Shipboard, or immediately on their Arrival in *France*, and among them was the Marquis of *Saluzzo*.

From these Successes, and the expelling the *Moors* out of *Spain*, the Name of the *Spaniards*, which till then had scarce been known to the neighbouring Nations, became formidable to the whole World.

The Discovery of the new World also gave great Reputation to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, under whose Auspices *Americus Vesputius*, a *Florentine*, as we have before observed, discovered that Land beyond the Equinoctial Line, after his own Name, called *America*.

Emanuel, King of *Portugal*, animated by his glorious Example and Fortune, and willing to rival *Ferdinand* in the Honour he had acquired, applied himself to make some new Discoveries

The Discovery of America.

Discoveries in the East Indies.

Discoveries in the *East-Indies*, and, in the very same Year, a Fleet was first fitted out by the *Portuguese*, and sent to the *Indies*, under the Command of *Vasquez de Gama*, which proved very successful, and was the Fore-runner of those grand Settlements, which the *Portuguese* have in the *Indies* at this Day.

BUT to return, the News of the Defeat of the *French* at *Carigliano* filled the whole Kingdom of *France* with Tears and Lamentations, both on account of the Death of so many valiant Soldiers, and for the great Number of their Nobility who perished in the Attempt; so that the Court, in particular, seemed quite sunk with Vexation and Grief. Hence nought was heard but the Murmurings and Disaffection of People of all Ranks and Sexes, who cursed the Moment that their Kings, not contented with their ample Dominions in *France*, out of a covetous Desire of new Empire and Acquisitions, had sought for them in *Italy*.

The Calamities that had attended the *French* in *Italy*, and the Clamours of the People, gave *Lewis* so much Uneasiness, that it cast him into a violent Fit of Sickness, which brought him so low, that even his Queen at one Time thought he was dead; on which she sent several of her valuable Effects for *Britany*; but, on the Way, they were stopped by the *Marshal de Gie*. This Action of his raised her Majesty's Indignation to such a Height, that she caused him to be prosecuted in the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, which ended in his being banished the Court. But by degrees the King got the better of his Sickness, and recovered his former State of Health.

As the *French* were driven out of *Naples*, the War in *Italy* ceased for the present. The Use that the *Venetians* made of these different Confusions, after the Death of *Alexander* the VIth, and *Borgia's* Perplexity occasioned by it, was to wrest from him *Faenza*, and some other adjacent Towns of less Importance; and, at the Time the *French* Affairs were declining in *Naples*,

ples, they under-hand assisted their Enemies in driving them out of that Country, hoping in the End to gain some considerable Advantage to themselves.

Lewis now finding his Treasure and the Blood of his Subjects much exhausted, tho' he had been so shamefully used by *Ferdinand*, yet they again treated with each other, by which means they concluded a Truce for three Years, and agreed it should extend to all their Dominions.

*Treaty at Blois
between Maxi-
milian, Lewis,
and Philip.*

About this Time also *Lewis* was in Negotiations with other Powers, and a Treaty of great Consequence was soon concluded at *Blois*, between the Emperor and the Arch-duke *Philip* on the one Part, and himself on the other; in which the Marriage of *Lewis's* eldest Daughter (or of the second in case the first died) with Prince *Charles* was again confirmed, with several considerable Additions in his Favour, and the Contract was sign'd by *Francis de Valois*, presumptive Heir to the Crown, (who succeeded *Lewis* by the Title of *Francis I.*) and other Princes of the Blood. Hereupon the Emperor gave *Lewis* the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*, in a different Manner from that first proposed, which was granted only to the King and his Daughters; whereas it was now made to '*Lewis* and his Children as well Males as Females, provided he paid 120,000 Florins.'

This Treaty was so advantageous to the House of *Austria*, and so prejudicial to *France*, that it was thought the King never designed to stand by it; for the general Opinion was, that *Lewis* entered into this Treaty for no other Reason but to prevent the miscarrying of another, which he had very much at Heart, a League between him, the Emperor, and the Pope, against the *Venetians*.

These Princes were not a little dissatisfied with that Republick; *Lewis*, for the Motives just mentioned, was greatly enraged. The Emperor could not pardon them,

them, on Account of the League they had made with *France*, for seizing the Dutchy of *Milan*; and the Pope had no less Cause of Complaint against them, for taking Possession of *Faenza* and other Towns which had belonged to the Holy See; but the publick Pretence for this Union was to make War against the *Turks*, with whom the *Venetians* had concluded a Peace: And it so happened, that their Treaty with the *Turks*, and that of the Pope with the two Princes, were signed the same Day, *September* the 22d.

If the Execution had been as speedy as it might, the *Venetians* would probably soon have been in a very bad Situation; but while that was delayed they had the Opportunity of making it up with the Pope, who reaped this Advantage, he got some of the Towns restored, that he was to have by the Treaty.

Lewis, having missed what he proposed from the League, began to alter his Thoughts in respect to marrying his Daughter *Clauda* to Prince *Charles*, and the rather because of the two following Events that happened this Year, and which afterwards made great Alterations in the Affairs of *Europe* in general.

First, *Frederick* of *Naples* died in *France*, *September* the 25th, not having been able to prevail on *Ferdinand* to restore to him his Dominions, as he had promised.

The Death of the King of Naples and Queen Isabella of Spain.

The other, *Queen Isabella* of *Spain* also died on the 26th of *November* following, who was one of the most illustrious Princesses of her Age; no less eminent for acquir'd Habits of Goodness than royal Extraction; a Princess of great Knowledge, Piety, and Generosity, who having observed in *Ximenes* a most refined Conduct, attended with singular Integrity, she made him Executor of her last Will and Testament, which was but a Drop of that Ocean of Honour those Qualities procured him, and which rendered him so venerable in the State, that never Minister was so much revered

in his Life, nor so much desired and missed after his Death; every Time he came to wait on his Master *Ferdinand*, the King went out of his Chamber to meet him, and at Parting brought him to the Chamber-Door, nor would he sit till a Seat was given him; so powerful sometimes are great Virtues, as to oblige even Crowns and Sceptres to reverence them. That Minister who is prudent and generous, whose Designs tend only to the Glory of his Sovereign and the Good of the Publick, deserves the Surname of *Guardian Angel of the State*, and ought to be honour'd as such by every one.

The Queen of *Spain's* Death changed the Interests of almost all the great Princes of *Europe*; the Power of the Arch-duke was augmented by the Kingdom of *Castile* falling to him, which was not small Joy to *Maximilian*, and which created Fears in *Lewis*, and Jealousy in *Ferdinand*, who now found that his Son-in-Law would not leave the Administration of *Castile* to him, as *Isabella* had ordained by her Will: But we shall leave these Affairs for a while.

The Proceedings of the 7th Parliament held the 16th of January, 1504.

On the 16th of *January* King *Henry* called his Parliament, under Pretence that there was a Necessity for reviving certain Statutes, and making some new ones for the Good of the State; but his real Motive was to demand a Subsidy for his eldest Daughter's Portion.

Both Houses readily granted the Subsidy desired, tho' more than what the King had paid for his Daughter's Fortune; besides which he had a handsome Present made him by the Clergy on the same Account; so that, instead of emptying his Coffers, by the Marriage of his Daughter, he replenished them.

The Subsidy was not the only Thing the King made an Advantage of in this Parliament; he found Means to obtain Acts, which seemed to aim wholly at the Good of the Publick, but in reality tended only

to procure him more Money: * These were the Statutes made in this Parliament.

No wonder *Henry* succeeded so well with his Parliament, when it appears his Creature, *Dudley*, obtained the high Office of Speaker to the House of Commons, who was the most generally loved Person in the Kingdom, except *Empson*, his Associate; which shews, either that the Commons in those Days did not care who they elected, or that they were wholly under the Influence of the Court.

Dudley was to have been made Sergeant at Law on the 13th of November this Year; but, for what Reason it does not appear, he petitioned that he might be excused

* 1. All Patents of Lease or Grant were disannulled (so such as came not upon lawful Summons) to serve the King against the Rebels; the like Act had been made in the 11th Year of this King for Offices, and by this Statute it was extended to Lands.

2. Made all sorts of clipped or impaired Coins of Silver, not to be current in Payments, without permitting them to pass for no more than the Value of their Weights.

3. The Statute against giving of Liveries to any but menial Servants was also continued; from whence *Empson* and *Dudley* had an Opportunity to attach many Persons.

4. That no Pewterers and Braze-makers should sell and change any Pewter and Brasse, new or old, at any Place within the Realm, but in open Fairs or Markets, or in their dwelling Houses. What gave Occasion to this Law was, that many Persons went about the Kingdom privately buying Pewter and Brasse, which encouraged wicked People to steal

Dishes, Plates, &c. knowing they had Receivers for them.

5. It was ordained, that no Bodies Corporate should make any Acts or Ordinances but what were examined and approved of by the Chancellor, Treasurer of England, Chief Justices of either Bench, or Justices of Assize, upon Pain of forfeiting 40*l*.

6. That Persons concerned in a Riot should forfeit 20*l*. and be imprisoned.

7. That no Persons should bring, or cause to be brought into the Realm, to be sold, any manner of Silk wrought by itself, or with any other Stuff, upon Pain of forfeiting the same.

8. That no Money, Plate, or Bullion, should be carried into Ireland, nor any Irish Money be brought into England, save 3*s*. 4*d*. upon Pain of forfeiting the same, and suffering Fine and Imprisonment at the King's Will.

9. To confirm and enforce the Statute touching Costs awarded to the Plaintiff, where Writs of Error are brought by Defendants for Delay.

cused from assuming that Degree, which he was accordingly.

Thus the King, continually amassing Wealth at a Time when his ordinary Expences were very moderate, and husbanding it in the best Manner possible, became at length extreamly rich in ready Money; but then he doubly ruined his Subjects, by draining their Purfes, and hindering the Coin, of which he had great Quantities by him, from circulating in Trade; and still *Empson* and *Dudley* continued their Extortions without any Reserve, and with a Rigour unexperienced by the *English* under any of their former Kings.

The 19th of *August*, *Henry* issued out a Proclamation, giving Notice, ‘ That he had appointed Commissioners, to whom his Creditors, and such as had any Demands upon him, might apply from that Time, and continue till *Michaelmas* come two Years.’ It is hard to judge whether he did this from a Principle of Equity, or only to blind People’s Eyes; and it is difficult to believe, that, whilst he suffered his Subjects to be oppressed by his two Ministers, he really intended to do Justice to all the World,

Much about this Time the Earl of *Suffolk*, in his Fury, murdered a Person of low Rank, for which Offence he was indicted, and obliged to appear at the *King’s Bench* Bar to plead to the Indictment; but he found Means to obtain the King’s Pardon, upon which he went into *Flanders*, where he staid some Time, and then returned back to *England*; yet the King took no Cognizance either of his Flight or Return.

Hall says, ‘ At Prince *Arthur*’s Marriage, no one made a greater Appearance than the Earl, by reason whereof he run in Debt.’ *Hollingshead* seems to think ‘ That tho’ he appeared grand on that Occasion, yet he envied the Felicity of *Henry* the VIIth’s Family, and could no longer with Patience see them enjoy the Crown.’

Empson

Empson and *Dudley* was now got to that Heighth, that the great Men themselves met with from them no better Usage than the Meanest; in short, both equally groaned under the Oppression of these two Horse-leaches, who spared neither Friend nor Foe.

The Earl of *Suffolk* therefore fancied, as nothing was to be heard but Murmurs and Complaints among all Ranks of People, that in the End some violent Storm might be raised against the King, especially if they saw a Person of Distinction appear to head them, and, as he was of the House of *York* by his Mother, he imagined the Time was come for him to put in his Claim to the Crown. Persisting in this Belief, he persuaded several Lords and Gentlemen to promise to support him at a proper Season, and then he retired into *Flanders* a second Time, with his Brother *Richard*, from whence he expected a powerful Aid, by Means of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, who was still alive and retained an implacable Hatred against the King; but she soon after ended her Life, without being able to succeed in any of the Projects she had formed to deprive *Henry* of the Crown.

The King was not a little surprized at the Earl's Retreat, and did not question but that he and his Accomplices had contrived some Plot in *England*, before his Departure. In order to be fully informed of this, he had recourse to the same Arts used with *Perkin Warbeck*; Sir *Robert Curson*, Governor of the Castle of *Hamnes*, near *Calais*, (whom he knew to be fit for his Purpose, and entirely at his Devotion) was the Person he employed; the Knight, pursuant to his Instructions, relinquished his Government, under Colour of an Affront (tho' designedly) put on him by the King, came to the Earl of *Suffolk*, with Offers of his Service, with whom he played his Part so well, that the Earl imparted to him all his Secrets. By this Means *Henry* came to know that *William Courtney*, Son to the Earl of *Devonshire*, who married *Catherine*, *Edward* the IVth's Daughter;

Daughter; *Edmund de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*; *Sir James Tyrrel*, *Sir John Windham*, and several other Persons were concerned in the Plot, and they were all apprehended in one Day: But, as probably there was not sufficient Evidence against the two first, the King was contented to detain them in Prison; which made some think they were not guilty, and that he used this Pretence only to secure them, because their Relation to the House of *York* made him uneasy: But *Tyrrel*, against whom the Blood of *Edward the Fifth* and the Duke of *York*, his Brother, cried for Vengeance, was beheaded on the 6th of *May*, with *Windham* his Accomplice, and the rest of inferior Rank suffered the Punishment of low Traitors.

Mean while his Majesty, desiring to be better informed of the Earl of *Suffolk's* Progress, took care to preserve *Curfen's* Credit by an extraordinary Method, causing *Innocent* the VIIIth's Bull of Excommunication to be published at *St. Paul's* Cross, against all Persons that should disturb him in the Possession of the Throne, and particularly the Earl of *Suffolk* and *Sir Robert Curfen*.

When the Knight had drawn from the Earl all his Secrets, he returned into *England*, where he was graciously received by the King; on the other hand, the People, looking on him with Horror, loaded him with Curfes. The Earl, being confounded by *Curfen's* Flight, roved about for some time in *Germany*, and at length returned into *Flanders*, where the Arch-duke *Philip*, notwithstanding his Treaties with *Henry*, took him into his Protection. 'The Earl's Brother *Richard*, (says *Hollingshead*) being a politick Man, so wisely ordered himself, during this Storm, that he was not intrapp'd with either Net or Snare.'

Before the End of *December*, Mr. *Wolsey* obtained, from Pope *Julius* the IIIrd, a Dispensation for holding a third Preferment, and which is addressed to him by the Title of *The Bishop of Lincolnton*; and here we shall wind up the Year 1504.

Mr. *Wolsey* obtains a second Dispensation.

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Upon

Upon the Death of Queen *Isabella*, *Ferdinand* wrote to our Prince to give him Notice thereof, and told him in his Letter, 'That his deceased Consort had appointed him, in her Will, Administrator of the Kingdom of *Castile*, for *Jane* their Daughter, Wife of the Arch-duke of *Austria*, who, on the Demise of her Royal Mother, was become Queen of *Castile*.'

Affairs of Spain.
1505.

When the Arch-duke received the News of *Isabella's* Death, he was employ'd in endeavouring to suppress some domestick Broils in *Flanders*, which prevented his repairing into *Spain* so soon as he could have wished, and was obliged to leave to King *Ferdinand*, his Father-in-law, the Government of *Castile*, tho' fully bent to take it from him as soon as possible. On the other Hand *Ferdinand*, improving on *Isabella's* Will, pretended to keep the Administration of that Kingdom during his Life, probably because she had not limited the Continuance.

This Dispute bred some Uneasiness in *Henry*, whose Case was the same with *Ferdinand's*, in the Opinion of many People, most of his Subjects being persuaded *Elizabeth* of *York*, his Queen Consort, was of Right the true Queen of *England*, and consequently the Crown fell, after her Decease, to *Henry*, her Son and lawful Successor; and, tho' he had affected to hold for certain, that the House of *York* had never any Right to the Crown, he was very much disturbed. It is true, that, besides his Descent from the House of *Lancaster*, he had founded his Right upon two other Titles, namely, Conquest, and the Approbation of Parliament, as we have before observed; but he clearly perceived how weak these two Foundations would prove, should the House of *York*, by some Revolution, come to gain Ground.

Upon this Account he was very attentive to what passed in *Spain*, looking upon the Decision of the Contest there as a Precedent for or against him. On the

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other

other Hand, he was afraid that *Philip*, who had appeared for some Time closely united with *Lewis* the XIIth, would join in a League with that Monarch and the Emperor, to oblige *Ferdinand* to resign *Castile* to him; and in that Case he foresaw he should be forced either to abandon *Ferdinand* to these three potent Enemies, or enter into a War against them to support him, both which were equally opposite to his Interest. In fine, he had cast his Eyes upon the Queen Dowager of *Naples*, Widow of King *Ferdinand*, for a Wife, in order to enjoy the large Dower assigned her in that Kingdom, hoping perhaps, by marrying that Queen, to render himself Umpire of the Differences between *Lewis* and *Ferdinand*, concerning the Kingdom of *Naples*.

To be fully informed therefore of the Disposition of the *Castilians*, and the Qualities of the Queen of *Naples*, he sent three Persons into *Italy* and *Spain*, not as Ambassadors, but as Travellers for their Pleasure. However, to procure them Access to the Queen of *Naples* and *Ferdinand*, he so ordered it, that the Princess of *Wales* gave them Letters both for the King her Father, and the Queen. These Gentlemen's private Instructions, with respect to the Queen, were very particular: His Majesty wanted to be informed of her Age, Complexion, Stature, Health, Temper, Inclinations, Behaviour, and, to be sure, of her Estate: This shews he was not willing hastily to resolve; tho' the Project soon vanished, when the King heard from his Messengers, that the Queen's Jointure had been very considerable, but was changed by *Ferdinand*, since he had been possessed of the Kingdom of *Naples*, into a Pension for Life.

When the Gentlemen arrived in *Spain* the Contest between *Ferdinand* and *Philip*, his Son-in-law, was still in the same State; they therefore acquainted the King, that *Ferdinand* continued to govern *Castile* as Administrator, and even hoped to persuade *Philip* to leave

leave him the Administration thereof during Life, either by the Means of some of his Council, whom he had gained over, or by threatening him to marry again, and so give an Heir to the Kingdom of *Arragon*; that therefore there was a Project of Marriage between *Ferdinand* and *Germaine de Foix*, which would be certainly accomplished, in case *Philip* molested his Father-in-law: That *Ferdinand's* Secretary had discovered to them as a great Secret, that the Marriage of Prince *Charles* of *Austria* with *Clauda* of *France* would not take Effect, *Lewis* the XIIth being resolved to give his Daughter to one of the Princes of *France*: But these Informations containing nothing certain, *Henry* could take no Measures till he saw the Course of the *Spanish* Affairs.

Whilst *Ferdinand* and *Philip* were in Treaty concerning their Difference, *Philip* and *Jane* were proclaimed King and Queen of *Castile* at *Brussels*, which shewed they intended not to resign the Administration of *Castile* to *Ferdinand*, as he had flatter'd himself. But his domestick Broils hindered him for the present from executing his Resolution of going to *Castile* with his Princess.

He knew the *Castilians* were not pleased with *Ferdinand*, and did not doubt, as soon as he and his Queen appeared, all would declare for them; for the same Reason *Ferdinand* used all Sorts of Artifices to dissuade them from this Voyage.

There were several Persons at the Court of *Spain*, that advised *Ferdinand* to take the Title of King of *Castile*, under Pretence of being descended from the Male Line of the antient Kings of that Realm; but he knew better how to govern his Ambition; and many of his Grandees were averse even to his being Administrator of it; and, in case *Jane* should not be in a Condition of governing by herself, they urged, that the Government devolved upon the Arch-duke,

who was already acknowledged King, and that *Ferdinand* ought to retire to his Kingdom of *Aragon*.

Ferdinand thought, as his Affairs were thus situated, he could not make a better Provision for his Security than to gain *Lewis* to be his Friend; and, as he knew that this Prince had a great Regard for *Germaine de Foix*, his Sister's Daughter, he therefore demanded her of him in Marriage, offering to settle the Crown of *Naples* on the Children begotten of her Body.

On the other hand, *Lewis*, having entirely laid aside all Thoughts of attempting to reconquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, readily granted *Ferdinand's* Request, which was the more agreeable to him, for that thereby a Way was opened for settling the remaining Differences subsisting between *France* and *Spain*, and for both Purposes the two Kings soon agreed on a Treaty, wherein was a Clause, 'That, in Default of Issue by the intended Marriage, that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had fallen to *Lewis's* Share, on the Division of that Kingdom between them, should revert to him.' And *Ferdinand* also paid the King a large Sum of Money, which at that Time he stood much in need of; and gained the Pope and the Cardinal *D'Amboise* over to his Interest, by inserting in the Treaty some Articles in their Favour; the first readily granted him a Dispensation for the Marriage, and the Cardinal was very active to forward the Negotiation, whereby the Treaty was sign'd at *Blois* on the 12th of *October*, the Peace published between the two Crowns, and, in the Month of *March*, the Year following, the Marriage was solemnized at *Valladolid*, whereupon the *Neapolitans* took an Oath of Allegiance to *Ferdinand*, and *Germaine*, as King and Queen of *Naples*.

This News caused great Uneasinesses and Broils in the Courts of *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Germany*; *Philip* was more especially under a Consternation, but chose to behave

behave moderately upon the Occasion, and said, 'Thar the King, his Father-in-law, was Master of his own Actions, and it did not become him to find Fault with the Marriage.' However, he continued in his Resolution of going to *Spain*, in order to be recognized (a-new) by his Subjects of the Kingdom of *Castile*.

Julius the IId fully discovered the Genius and Conduct of the Princes we have been speaking of; and, in Fact, he believed himself above them all both in Understanding and Dignity; and therefore doubted not but he could awe them with a Nod, lead them as he pleased, and, in the End, drive them out of *Italy*: And they, on their Parts, were weak enough to believe, they could do nothing without his Holiness, and so by their Fears increas'd his Power.

Pope Julius's Policy.

He made *Lewis* set a great Value both on the Power he gave him to dispose of the Benefices in the *Milanese*, and on the two Cardinals Caps he sent him, one for the Nephew of the Cardinal *D'Amboise*, and the other for *la Trimoville*; and, in Return for this Favour, the Pope prevailed with his Most Christian Majesty to employ his Forces to recover *Bologna* for him; out of the Hands of *John Bentivoglio*, which was accordingly effected. This Lord, finding himself assaulted by one who had ever been his Protector, entreated him at last to intercede with his Holiness, to give him Leave to go out of the Town, and carry his Goods along with him, which, with some Difficulty, was granted.

Julius, having got *Bologna* into his Possession, made a pompous Entry into the City, where he granted several Favours to the Inhabitants, which were well received, and contributed not a little towards making the People easy under their new Master. Notwithstanding *Lewis* thus assisted *Julius*, without whose Aid he could never have taken *Bologna*, yet at times, when in his

Cur

Cups, he could not help discovering his Hatred to *Lewis* and the *French Nation*.

At the Time these different Matters were transacting abroad, Prince *Henry* entred into the 15th Year of his Age, and it was debated in Council, Whether his Marriage with *Catherine*, his Brother's Widow, should be carried into Execution? This was opposed by several weighty Reasons, which so far prevailed, that it was again put off: But in the mean time the young Prince privately visited the Bishop of *Winchester*, and subscribed the following Paper.

' In the Name of God, *Amen*. In the Presence of
' you, Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord
' *Richard*, by the Grace of God and See Apostolick,
' Bishop of *Winchester*, I *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke
' of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*, do say, affirm, and
' by these Writings declare, that although, in the Time
' of my Minority, and when I was under Years of
' Marriage, I absolutely contracted Matrimony with
' the most virtuous Lady *Catherine*, Daughter of the
' King of *Spain*, and altho' also the said Contract, by
' reason of my being under Age, doth now appear of
' itself insufficient, weak and of no Force, Vigour, or
' Efficacy, yet, forasmuch as that now I am come to
' perfect Years, and that thereby the said Contract
' may peradventure be thought and seem, by silent
' Consent, mutual Abode in one House, by giving and
' receiving Gifts and Tokens, or by any other Way
' whatsoever, to be apparently sufficient and confirmed;
' therefore I *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, do here protest
' and make known to all Men, that I intend not to
' approve, ratify, or confirm in any sort, this pretend-
' ed Contract, by any thing that I have said, or shall
' say, have done or shall do, but do at this present re-
' nounce the same freely and of mine own Accord, uncon-
' strained either by Force, Fraud, Entreaty, or any way
' else; and I deny it, and wholly purpose and intend
' quite

quite to relinquish this pretended Contract of Matrimony, by the best Ways and Means, that by Law more fully, effectually, and sufficiently I shall or may be able to do; and expressly do disavow the same, accordingly as by these Presents I do disclaim it, and disavow it; and I protest, that I neither will, nor intend to consent unto the said Contract, or unto the said Lady *Catharine*, as my Espousal and Wife; by any Word, Deed, Act or Gesture; to be spoken, done, acted, or performed by me, or in my Name; by any whomsoever, whensoever, or howsoever, for the Time to come. In Witness whereof, I desire, require, intreat, and injoin you all to give Testimony.

To which the following Attestation was subscribed and Sealed.

The above written was read, and made by the afore said Noble Prince, Lord *Henry*, in the Presence of the Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, *Richard*, by divine Permission, Bishop of *Winchester*, sitting Judicially in Court; and I, the Notary, underwritten, at that Time present, the Writer of his Acts in this Behalf appointed, and in the Presence of the undernamed Witnesses, in the Year of our Lord God, 1505, the eighth Indiction of the Most Holy See of our Father and Lord in Christ, by divine Providence, Pope *Julius* the IId, in his 2d Year, and 27th of the Month of *June*; in which Day the said worthy Prince was of perfect Years of Marriage, as then he did there affirm, in a certain outward Court within the Royal Palace of *Richmond*, situate in the West Part of the said Palace; concerning all and singular which Things, the afore said Most Noble Prince instantly required and intreated me, the afore said Notary, to frame an Instrument, and likewise the Witnesses underwritten to give Testimony. In Justification of all and singular the Premises, the afore said Noble Prince hath superscribed his Name, and the

‘ the Witnesses as aforeſaid, intreated and required,
 ‘ have ſubſcribed their Names with their own
 ‘ Hands.

‘ So it is as above-
 ‘ ſaid, which I John
 ‘ Read do witneſs by
 ‘ my Hand and Seal.

*Miles Daubeney,
 C. Sommerſet,
 Thomas Ruſhall,
 Nicholas Weſt,
 Harry Mainy.’*

After this it does not appear that any further mention was made, during the Remainder of his Father’s Reign, of the Prince’s marrying the Princeſs *Catherine*; nor that any Application was made to the King by the Court of *Spain* to preſs the ſame from the Time of obtaining the Diſpenſation, which is a clear Evidence, eſpecially if we conſider what followed in the enſuing Reign, that that Court did not think the Prince yet of a ſuitable Age to conſummate the Marriage.

About this Time the Emperor *Maximilian* ſent an Ambaſſador to propoſe to the King a League againſt the *Turks*; but this Embaſſy was (as *Rapin* avers) only a Pretence to demand of *Henry* an Aid of Money, who, too well underſtanding the Nature of thoſe Propoſals, (and finding the Ambaſſador was alſo charged with other Propoſals for borrowing a Sum of Money of him) choſe rather to make him a Preſent of 10,000 *l.* than to advance any in Aid, or lend the Sum deſired.

But yet the King did not care to part with his Money without having ſomething for it, and therefore he took the Opportunity to conclude with *Maximilian* an advantageous Treaty of Commerce, and another of Friendſhip and Alliance, which were to continue for a Year after the Death of the Survivor.

*Mr. Wolſey made
 Reſtor of Red-
 grave.*

Mr. Wolſey behaved ſo well in his Station of Chaplain to his Maſteſty, that he every Day more and more gained the Favour of Biſhop *Fox*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, even to ſo great a Degree, that his Maſteſty began alſo to take more Notice of him than common;

common; and he had the good Fortune, about the End of this Year, to be presented with the Rectory of *Redgrave*, in the Diocese of *Norwich*, as appears from his Institution by the venerable and religious Abbot of *St. Edmund's-Bury*.

The famous *Erasmus* was now in *England*, and had acquired a very great Reputation; and, as he had carried on an early and friendly Correspondence with *Wolsey*, we think a short Account of his Original may be acceptable; notwithstanding the great Pains taken by an elaborate Author*, to make it appear they were

Erasmus's Original, and the Friendship between him and Wolsey.

* *Dr. Knight's Life of ERASMUS.*

Introd. p. x. *Erasmus* says, Of the Spirit of a Man I dare not determine; that's a hard Matter:—*But the Doctor is a great Proficient in this Art.*

P. xi, xii. Some have objected against *Luther*, that he was an enterprising Man, of a forward, bold, and what they call a turbulent Temper: It is happy he was so, for, without a Warmth of Zeal, a Presence of Mind, and an intrepid Courage, pursuing Truth with invincible Attachment to it, he could never have persisted in that immense Difficulty of beginning the Reformation in Germany. We have had the same Objection made in *England*, that *K. Henry VIII.* was a blustering Prince, haughty and resolute, and affecting his own Will and Pleasure. It is enough to say, that a milder Prince could not have done much in so rugged a Work.—*These Qualities the Doctor could not in the least wink at in the Cardinal, but absolutely condemn.*

P. xiv, xv. I am sorry I am forced to go a little out of the Way to

vindicate *Erasmus* from the Aspersions cast upon him by a late Writer, (*Dr. Fiddes*) in his Life of Cardinal *Wolsey*, &c.—But as the Author is lately dead, I shall forbear saying so much as I designed upon this Head, and the known Motives which engaged him to advance so many Paradoxes as abound in his Work.—How well the Doctor has kept his Word, the Sequel will shew.

P. 36, 37. *Tho. Wolsey* was the King's Almoner, and great Favourite: At first *Erasmus* had conceived too good an Opinion, and had said many Things in his Favour; but found himself deceived by him in several Instances, he having more of the Courtier, than the sincere Friend, or generous Patron. If therefore he did, in some of his later Writings, alter his Style, and speak very severe Things of him, we must attribute it to a Course of Ill-usage, that he, in common with his best Friends, had met with from him. To say nothing of the general Odium he had incurred

were at the utmost Variance, and to set the Cardinal in the worst Light ; some Extracts from whom, to shew our Impartiality and the Doctor's Partiality, we hope our Readers will excuse, as well as the too frequent *Repetitions*, which, in tracing him, could not be avoided.

This great Man was born at *Roterdam*, *October* the 28th,

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red from ALL others, by his *Pride* and *Insolence*, which, whatever Varnish has been laid upon it, by a late Writer, (*Dr. Fiddes*) is sufficiently evident to any that know our History. His *Ill-usage* of some of the best of *Erasmus's* Friends gave him the first Dis-
taste.

P. 37, 38, 39. *Richard Pace*, one of *Erasmus's* most particular Friends, tell under the Displeasure of the Cardinal, for which two Reasons are assigned (*viz.*) that he shewed a Readiness to assist *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, with Money ; for whom the Cardinal had no great Affection, keeping back a Sum of Money sent him by *Henry VIIIth*, to carry on his War near *Pavia*, against *Francis 1st. K. of France*. But what was more than this, because he had not forwarded the Cardinal's Designs in the getting him into the *Papacy*. Upon these two Reasons, he was sadly distressed by this Great Man, who stop his Allowance, and almost starved him ; and pursued him with the utmost Vengeance, so that it did at last bereave him of his Senses ; though he had some lucid Intervals, and remonstrated to the King against his *Ill-usage*. But the Cardinal was too hard for him, so that he was clapt into the Tower, and there confined

two Years ; but was never rightly himself.—*Why did not the Doctor tell us what this R. Pace was charged with, for which he suffered all this ? Can it be supposed, that it was without having any publick Allegations against him ? But, it seems, tho' he was thus ill-used, starved, and bereaved of his Senses, he acquired both Riches and Favour, P. 42.*

P. 40. *Dr. Colet* had too much of the humble Christian, and the reputed Heretick, to be favoured by that mighty Man ; he would be no Fool or Bigot for him, and therefore avoided being concerned with him. He tells *Erasmus*, that Cardinal *Wolsey* had the supreme Command of the Kingdom, and therefore he was going to retire from the World.

P. 41. No wonder that Cardinal *Wolsey* fell under the *Loss* of *Erasmus's* Pen, when some of his most intimate Friends did not escape it.—*Perhaps he had a sort of an Itch, and therefore must be scratching ; that he was really captious the Doctor gives many Instances.*

P. 43. *Erasmus's* great Friend, *Richard Sampson*, used his utmost Endeavours in procuring him a Prebendship in *Tournay*, which it seems he never enjoyed ; indeed he never much affected this sort of Preferment, since he was afraid
of

28th, 1467. Authors agree, that his Mother granted his Father the Favour, upon a Promise of Marriage; but as it did not take Place, he may be justly ranked among the Number of illustrious Bastards; and, though he was so unhappy in this Point, Care was taken to send him to School at a Place called *Daventer*, where he soon made a very considerable Progress in Learning.

St 2

Cly-

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of Chapters; however he *lays the Blame* upon Cardinal *Wolsey*, as being *false* to him in that Affair. —*Tho' he liked it, and did not like, yet the Cardinal must be censured.*

P. 44, 45, 46. *Sampson* was neglected by the Cardinal, which obliged him to write a very expostulating Letter to him for some Preferment, which succeeded not at that Time, tho' he became at length Bishop of *Chichester*, thence was translated to *Litchfield*, and at last was of King *Henry's* Privy Council, and sent abroad in Embassies; but this was after he had wrote a Book in Vindication of the *Supremacy*; the Cardinal ever bearing hard upon those, who would not run the Lengths he would have them. Which was not only *Sampson's* Case, but that of ALL who had any thing to do with him, which, if it was necessary, might abundantly be proved; [*surely, it was absolutely necessary,*] but I think I shall have enough in its proper Place, to vindicate *Erasmus* in what relates to the Cardinal, and which must confirm the general Opinion that Mankind have had, and must ever have of him. [*This we much question.*] Only here it may be worth remarking, that the very Title of that little Piece of

Plutarch, which *Erasmus* inscribed to the Cardinal, (*viz*) *Quo Pacto fieri possit, ut Utilitatem capias ex Inimico*, whether by Chance, or Design, I know not, had at first sight something like a Reflection in it.—[In his Introduction, P. xxviii. he gives it this general Title, *De Utilitate capienda ab Inimicis*, and which agrees better with the Doctor's own Translation of it, P. 375.]—It is true, in the Dedication, he speaks very plausibly of the Cardinal, and perhaps stretches his Compliments too far; but intimates also, that he was not so well used by the King as the World expected; no doubt he was sensible the Cardinal was his back Friend, since ALL the World knew he could do every Thing he pleased with the King. *Erasmus* tells us, that before he could have an Opportunity of presenting his Book to the Cardinal, he was forced three times to change his Stile to him, Honours came so thick upon him. In his Dedication before the Epistles of *Peter* and *Jude*, he mentions his good Designs in relation to the Reforming of Abuses in the Church, which Historians indeed agree he had engaged in, and spurs him up to encourage, as he had begun to do, Youth of pregnant

Cytræus relates, ' That, some time after he had been
' at this School, *Rodolphus Agricola*, having read the
' Exercises of the Scholars of his Friend *Hegius*, (who
' was then Master of it) he found that young *Eraf-*
' *mus*'s far exceeded them all; which made him de-
' sire to see the Youth, who was then but 14 Years
' of

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pregnant Parts and Abilities, who, by being countenanced by him, would probably very much improve in Virtue and Learning.—*What in-and-out Stuff is here! Let the Cardinal prefer, or not prefer, do good, or let it alone, he must still be a bad Man,*

P. 46, 47, 48. *William Burbank*, who was Secretary to the Cardinal, Lord Montjoy, who lived in the Cardinal's Court; *Thomas Lovell*, Decr. Dr. one of his Domesticks, Sub-dean of *Wells*, and Vicar-general to the Bishop thereof; *Robert Tonesius*, the Cardinal's Counsellor; *Francis Philips*, a promising Youth; *Francis*, the Cardinal's Physician; *Gonell*, another Domestick; *John Clement*, greatly preferred by the Cardinal, on the Recommendation of Sir *Thomas More*; were all *Erasmus*'s great Friends.—*Which shews that the Cardinal did not use him so very illly and with that Spleen, as the Dr. asserts; for then he would hardly have permitted his Domesticks, and those in Places under him, to have so much countenanced, and used such great Lenity towards, Erasmus.*

Page 370. His own Friends and Patrons stand upon Record as ill treated by him. Amongst others Bishop *Fox* of *Winchester*, on whom the Cardinal bore hard,

and in many Instances proved ungrateful to him.—[*The Doctor has not given us one; but says, in the same Page.*] 'Tis not his Business to recriminate upon the Cardinal.—*If the Dr. had really kept to his Business, he would have saved us and our Readers all this Trouble; and if what we have here collected are not Recriminations, we know not what are.*

P. 370, 371. *Erasmus*'s Writings seem very favourable to his (*Wolsey*'s) Character, especially as to his being an Encourager of Learning and learned Men (which indeed must be owned as agreeable to the general Account we have of him.)

P. 371. *Erasmus*, and the common Stream of Writers jointly own, that he had magnificent Designs of promoting Learning and good Discipline in *Oxford* especially.

P. 371, 372, 373. *Erasmus*, and the same Stream of Writers own, that his Ambition and Insolence had justly rendred him very obnoxious to the Censure of ALL Mankind: And *Erasmus* might well think himself not only much neglected, but ill treated by him, in the Affair of a Prebend in *Tournay*; for which *Erasmus* had no Inclination, but had worked himself up to a great Desire of it:—But, when the Cardinal had

* of Age, and, being called out of the School, *Agri-*
 * *cola* looked attentively at him, and in an Extasy
 * said, *You will be one Day a Great Man!*

Soon after this Interview he lost both Father and Mother, and, being placed under the Care of Guardians, they used him very ill, who, forcing him to embrace

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had *actually* given him this Pre-ferment, on a sudden he proved *false*, and *Erasmus* lost his Pre-ferment.—*No Inclination, but a great Desire; good!*

P. 373, 374. *Demolendinus* directly says, that the Cardinal had not only given *Erasmus* an Expectation of a Canonry at *Tournay*, but actually had granted it to him, and that he had Possession of it, having had an Instrument signed by the Cardinal, as Bishop of that Church, to instal him in it.—But we do not find that *Erasmus* did much depend upon the Cardinal after this Disappointment.—*Here are promising, disappointing, desiring, not desiring, actually giving, taking away, losing it, Possession, and no Possession, all in a Breath.*

P. 374, 375 Tho' *Erasmus* was not inclined (after this Disappointment) to inscribe any of his Books to him; yet he had dedicated more than one of his Books to the Cardinal. His Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. *Peter*, and a Piece of *Plutarch*, relating to the Benefit we may gain from our very Enemies, were both inscribed to him; and we may from them collect his (*Wolsey's*) Character, drawn to great Advantage by his excellent and masterly Hand; I mean that Part of it which belonged to him, as being a great Patron of Learning and

Learned Men, and his being likewise a great Statesman, and an able Counsellor to King *Henry*. It is certain, that the Kingdom very much flourished under his Administration.—The best Part of his Character being that of a great *Mæcenæ*s to Learned Men.

P. 375. At last he became *intemperate* with Success (as Archbishop *Warham* said of him) and spoilt ALL by his Ambition and Insolence;—He was no *Mæcenæ*s to *Erasmus*, otherwise he would not so often have complained of his being deceived by him.

P. 376. It seems he paid him (*Erasmus*) Part of his Pension.

P. 376, 377. In an Epistle to Sir *Thomas Moore*, he acquaints him of the *Doublings* and *Artifices* of the Cardinal, whom he styles the Chancellor, his (*Wolsey's*) Patron, Archbishop *Warham*, quite wearied by his Encroachments on his Office, having resigned the Year before.—Doth not such Treatment of the most Learned Man (*Erasmus*) then in Europe quite mar the best Part of the Cardinal's Character, his being a *Mæcenæ*s and an Encourager of Learning? Tho' towards the gaining of it he made such Havock of Religious Houses, that he incurred more than a Suspicion of being both sacrilegious and unjust, and paved the Way for that thorough Dissolution of them,

embrace a religious Life contrary to his Mind, he entered among the Regular Canons in the Monastery of *Stein*, near *Tergon*, where he behaved so well, that, with the Permission of his Superiors, in the Habit of his Order, he attended on the Bishop of *Cambray* in Expectation of Preferment ; but, soon finding he could not

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which soon after ensued by the King himself.—Though *Erasmus* had himself the Offer of being made a *Cardinal*, as also more than once of being a *Bishop*, yet he despised both the Honour and Advantages arising from them ;—[*Can it be supposed then, that he made such a violent Po-tter about the Cardinal's disappointing him only of a Canonry? Yes ; because the Dr. says, P. 384.*] He had Reason to repent his coming hither, and refusing greater Offers abroad.—Though in no Part of his Life he (*Wol-fey*) could be called a good Man ; yet, towards the latter Part of his Administration, he had arrived to that Insolence and Haughtiness of Temper, that he became the very Scourge of the Kingdom :—[*But, the Dr. tells us, P. 375.*] It is certain the Kingdom very much flourished under his Administration ; — therefore, 'tis as certain, the Cardinal scourged it for its Good.

P. 378. His Treatment of his good Friend, Archbishop *Warham*, was unparliamentary, having picked a Quarrel with him for subscribing himself, *Your Brother William of Canterbury*, as too familiar a Style from the Metropolitan of all England, and just before Lord Chancellor, to the Archbishop of York, because the

Pope's Legate. *Erasmus* occasionally mentions the Cardinal as not *ordinarily civil*, or *easy of Access* to his Inferiors ; but that he should use one that was his Superior—[*How ? was not the Pope's Legate, in those Times, superior to the Archbishop of Canterbury ?*] no better, is, I think, the finishing of his Character as to Haughtiness and Pride ; nay, there was no standing before him ; which made *Erasmus* conceive a terrible Idea of him !—I have already mentioned how ill [*and how well too, P. 46, 47, 48*] most of *Erasmus's* best Friends were used by the Cardinal.—*Who are they ? Where has he mentioned them ? And what are the Hardships ? he having here named only Richard Pace, Bishop Fox, and Archbishop Warham, with whom, by what the Dr. says in the next Page, one would think Erasmus had been at Variance, as well as with Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and the Cardinal. And the Dr. is as deficient, in telling us the Writers and Historians from whence he has raked this Heap of Raillery and Scandal.*

P. 378, 379. When this great Oppressor was upon the Decline, and was losing that Power, with which he had so barrasted Mankind, the People rejoiced.

P. 379.

not depend much upon that Prelate's Assistance, he obtained Liberty of going to *Paris*, where he studied for some Time ; from thence he came over into *England* about the Year 1497, and went to *Oxford*, where Mr. *Wolsey* had the Pleasure of first coming acquainted with him : It was during his Residence there that he became

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P. 379. But why should this Author (Dr. Fiddes) be so angry with *Erasmus*, for saying no more in the Cardinal's Favour, where he owns [Page 3.] that ALL Historians, but himself, had given him a *very bad Character*.——[*That the Reader may judge of Dr. Knight's Candidness, we here quote Fiddes's Reasons, for writing the Cardinal's Life, in the said Page,*]
 “ First, his great Encourage-
 “ ment of Learning, not only
 “ as he was a Patron in general to Men of any Distinction in the learned World, but
 “ in particular (tho' *Cambridge*
 “ shared in the Effects of his
 “ Favour and Beneficence) to
 “ the University of *Oxford* ;
 “ where, besides his publick
 “ Benefactions, he laid the Foundation of a Work [*then called Cardinal College, but since named Christ Church*] “ which, if it
 “ had been perfected, and continued upon his Plan, would
 “ have exceeded any Work
 “ of the same kind, that History records since the Foundation of the World ; and
 “ which, notwithstanding the
 “ Depredations it has suffered,
 “ still retains many sensible
 “ Marks of its Primitive Grandeur and Magnificence : Neither may it be improper here

“ to mention his College of *Ipswich*, [*with a School for the Education of Youth, till they should be fitted for the University,*] “ which fell with him ;
 “ and the College of *Physicians* “ in *London*, the Preamble [*to the original Charter*] “ recites
 “ the Erection of it was principally owing to the Cardinal's Advice, and therefore
 “ owes a grateful Acknowledgment to his Memory. To
 “ which I shall only add, that
 “ he had also designed to found
 “ a Society for the Canon and Civil Laws, which, had he
 “ proceeded to finish it, would,
 “ we may justly presume, have
 “ discovered that Greatness and
 “ Extent of Mind, wherewith
 “ all his other Designs were
 “ formed and executed. Secondly, A Desire to do Justice to his injured Memory,
 “ there having been few Persons,
 “ if any, to whom Mankind
 “ has been obliged to for any
 “ considerable Benefactions, that
 “ has met with such ungrateful
 “ Usage in return, as Cardinal
 “ *Wolsey*.” —[*But, to proceed, Dr. Knight says*] And, though
 he set himself towards restoring the Discipline of the Church, and reforming Abuses among the Clergy, must this atone for his accumulated Vices ?

became acquainted with Mr. *Thomas More*, afterwards the famous Sir *Thomas More*, and several other learned Gentlemen, and we find that he was entertained in the Family of Lord *Mountjoy*, as Tutor to his Son; so that by Degrees *Erasmus* became well acquainted with the Modes and Fashions of *England*, as he confesses in

a

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P. 380. *He stands charged with foul Immoralities;—would not hand down to us his own Life, knowing the Part he had acted; and the flagrant Crimes he had been guilty of were too notorious to admit of any Colour or Varnish. And indeed he must be looked upon as a very bold Man, who, even two hundred Years after his Death, should offer to labour out an Encomium, and put ALL his Actions in a false Light, running against the Stream of ALL who have wrote concerning him.——Why then, if we surmount this Difficulty, we shall have the more Glory. But, is there no labouring out an Encomium on him, without putting ALL his Actions in a false Light? Did he not one good Action? Was there never a shining Action, Doctor, in the Character, drawn to great Advantage by the excellent and masterly Hand of your old Friend, Erasmus? as you have told us in Page 375. Nothing brilliant, nothing worthy of an Encomium, in being an Encourager of Learning and learned Men, P. 370, 371; in having magnificent Designs in promoting Learning and good Discipline in Oxford, P. 371; in being a great Patron of Learning and learned Men; a great Statesman; an able Coun-*

sellor, under whose Administration the Kingdom VERY MUCH FLOURISHED; a great *Mæcenas*, P. 375; in paying *Erasmus* a Pension, P. 376; in restoring the Discipline of the Church, and reforming Abuses amongst the Clergy, P. 379.—[*But the Doctor goes on*]—His Character is more briefly and more truly summed up, in what is said of him by an eminent Writer in the following Words. ‘The intolerable Pride, Extortion, Bribery and Luxury of *Wolsey*, Archbishop of *York*, who can be ignorant of? Selling Dispenfations by his Power Legatine for ALL Offences; insulting over the Dukes and Peers, of whom some he brought to Destruction by bloody Policy; playing with State Affairs according to his Humour or Benefit; causing *Tournay*, got with the Blood of many a good Soldier, to be rendred at the French King’s secret Request made to him, not without Bribes, with whom one while siding, another while with the Emperor, he sold the Honour and Peace of *England*; and other Crimes, &c.’—How this agrees with what the Doctor asserts, (from *Erasmus*) P. 375. we leave the Reader to judge. Even *Bishop Burnet* ac-
know-

a pleasant Letter he wrote to a Poet in *France*.
 " Your Friend you would hardly know, he is almost
 " grown, since he has been in *England*, a good Hunt-
 " er, a better Horseman, a very tolerable Courtier; he
 " can salute with more Complaisance, and smile with
 " a better Grace than before ;" and concludes his Letter
 T t

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Knowledge, Hist. Ref. V. I. P. 8. P. 381, 382, 383. But ALL
 " The King never engaged in any this, and a great deal more
 " Alliance, whilst the Cardinal that might be added, plainly
 " was at the Head of Affairs, shews how little Regard the
 " but what was for his Advan- Author (*Fiddes*) had to Truth,
 " tage."—*This the King confirms,* and how good an Inclination to
in his Answer to Luther, assuring Popery; which will appear very
him, " That both himself and evident, if we do but give the
 " the whole Realm had found the true Rise and Occasion of writing
 " profitable Effects of Cardinal this *Life of Wolsey*, which was as
 " *Wolsey's Endeavours.*" And follows ;—[*Of which our Dr.*
Harman (in Answer to Burnet) says, " Yet to do Justice to Car- *says, in his Introduction, P. 15,*
 " dinal *Wolsey*, lest he should be as the Author was dead, he should
 " thought to be bribed by any forbear speaking much.]
 " foreign Prince, to act against Dr. *Wake*, now Archbishop of
 " the Interest of his Master, I *Canterbury*, in the Beginning of
 " will add, that, when *Tournay* the Convocation Controversy had
 " was delivered to the French, in justly reflected on the exorbitant
 " the Year 1518, the Embassa- Power of Cardinal *Wolsey*. Up-
 " dor of the King of *Spain* did on which Dr. *Atterbury*, late Bi-
 " privately offer to the Cardinal shop of *Rocheſter*, was angry,
 " 100,000 Crowns, in the Name and upbraided Dr. *Wake* with In-
 " of his Master, if he would gratitude to the Founder of *Christ-*
 " cause the Citadel of *Tournay* Church in *Oxford*, where he eat
 " be demolished before the deli- his Bread. Dr. *Wake* in his De-
 " vering of it; which Offer the fence had made Answer, that
 " Cardinal generously refused, their proper Founder was not the
 " because contrary to the Arti- Cardinal, but *Henry VIII. &c.*
 " cles agreed upon between his Dr. *Atterbury* for Reply was hunt-
 " Master and the French King." ing long for Materials to illus-
 "—Many other Authorities we could trate the Character of Cardinal
 here produce, to invalidate Dr. *Wolsey*; but finding, that with
 Knight's briefly true Character all his Art they would not make
 of the Cardinal, just recited, but a good Piece, he threw by his
 shall refer them to their proper Col- Collections to be put together by
 order in the Course of our History. another Hand: And, hearing at
 last of a Writer capable of dress-
 ing

ter both with commending our Countrymen, and advising his Friend to come over to him.

Some little Time after this *Erasmus* wrote another Letter to an *English* Friend of his, Mr. *Robert Fisher*, with whom he first became acquainted at *Paris*, but was then travelling in *Italy*, and informs him, ‘ What abundant

Dr. Knight's Life of ERASMUS.

sing up a *Panegyrick* upon the *worst of Men*, he set him upon the Life of this *great Cardinal*, supplied him with his own Collections, directed him to the Stock of others, procured him the whole *Party* of Subscribers, entertained him at his *Deanery* at *Westminster*, suggested Matter and Method, turned him to Authorities and Conjectures, and laid the whole Plan for forming such a *Life* as might *blacken the Reformation*, cast lighter Colours upon *Popery*, and even make way for a *Popish Pretender*; and under ALL to shew, that the great Restorer of the Church must be another *English Cardinal*.——

[*Strange Effects for the Life of a Man to have, wrote two hundred Years after his Death; but not to be wondered at, if he was, as the Doctor tells us, P. 383, A D E V I L!*]—This was really the Design of the Work, and a Workman was found suitable to it; for none but a Man in the *worst Circumstances* would have submitted to such *Drudgery*. The Character then that this Performance deserves, is plainly this; that nothing ever was undertaken with a *meaner*, and more *mercenary Spirit*, or executed with such *implicit Faith*. The Compiler, when told of many Curious Manuscripts, and other Papers pro-

per for the true Purpose of such a *Life*, made no other Reply, but that he had *enough*: Too much indeed of such Materials, which had been *cook'd up for him*.——

[*We should have been glad to have seen the Doctor's Vouchers for this, because Doctor Fiddes declares the contrary, P. 4, “No Person can oblige me more, than by a free and ingenuous Discovery of any Error or other Defect that may deserve his Notice; and when I am favoured with any Representations of this kind, I shall shew that Regard to it which becomes a Lover of Truth; and I promise to give up any thing which I can't support upon good and evident Reason.”*]——As then (*says Dr. Knight*) nothing can be more destructive to our Constitution, and nothing at that Juncture especially could have a more fatal Influence on the Minds of the People, than to believe such a Story to be true.——A Man of Wit, upon reading this Performance, told a Person of Eminence and Character, that *he should have thought it impossible, that any one could make such a Saint of such a D—l*.——[*Here we apprehend the Doctor has told all he knew, if not more; which shews what a Length a Man's mistaken Zeal may carry him:*]

But

‘ abundant Satisfaction he had taken in being so long
‘ in *England*, a Country that had pleased him beyond
‘ all he had yet seen ; for he had found here a clear
‘ and wholesome Air, and so much Humanity and
‘ Learning, not vulgar and trivial, but profound, ex-

T t 2

‘ act

Dr. Knight's Life of ERASMUS.

But as to the Misrepresentations and gross Abuse, (as we think) the Doctor here so liberally bestows on the learned Dr. Fiddes and Bishop Atterbury, we shall at present leave to their Reverend Brethren to wipe off, if not already done.

P. 383. *Luther shews a just Indignation against, and sufficiently lashes Wolsey for his Bigotry and Vices ;—judging rightly, that ALL Mankind agreed in his Character : —That is, he was an Encourager of Learning and learned Men, &c. if what he has said in P. 370. &c. before-mentioned, are Truths, (which indeed, says the Doctor, P. 371, must be owned as agreeable to the general Account we have of him) and thereof certainly we need not doubt, since, as he assures us, P. 383, his Warmth, in penning these Censures, was for the Sake of our Religion and Constitution.*

P. 384. *The Cardinal was very fond of the senseless Jargon of the Schools ; [tho' such a great Encourager of Learning.]—Had great Spleen against Erasmus ; [tho' he paid him Part of his Pension, P. 376.]—Aimed at St. Peter's Chair ;—engrossed ALL Power, and disposed of ALL Preferments as he thought fit, and did really more reign than the King himself.—But the severest*

Thing that Erasmus says against the Cardinal is, That he was feared by ALL, and beloved by few or none, which is confirmed by ALL the Historians of that Time ; who also give a general Consent as to the other Parts of his Character, [P. 370, 371, 374, 375, 376. as above recited :] And glad we are to find, that ALL the Doctor's crude Matter at last centers in this one severe Sentence. What Occasion then for so many Repetitions, Doublings without Artifice, (P. 376) or Matters foreign to his Purpose ? Or why so much beside his Business, which, he says, P. 370. was not to criminate on the Cardinal ?

To conclude, we hope the Doctor will excuse us for these Remarks, because we have so great a Sanction as his own for so doing, P. 383. And it is every Man's Duty to disabuse those, who have been wronged by any evil Arts whatsoever, especially in Matters of so much Moment, as these before us.—And we submit it to our Readers, whether it would not have been more commendable in the Doctor to have followed the noble Example of Lord Bollingbroke, who, on being asked a Question relating to the Duke of Marlborough's Avarice, made this generous Reply, ‘ The Duke was ‘ so great a Man, I have forgot ‘ his Vices.’

‘act and antique, both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, that he could not longer desire to see *Italy*, except meerly for the Sight of it. As often as I hear *Colet*, says he, methinks I hear the divine *Plato* himself; in *Grocyn*, who cannot but admire that universal Compass of Learning; what more acute, more profound, more accurate, than the Judgment of *Linacer*; what did Nature ever form so soft, so sweet, so happy, as the Wit of Mr. *Thomas More* ;’ and concludes with excusing himself from reckoning up the long Catalogue of other learned Men in *England*.

Notwithstanding *Erasmus*’s Inclination to stay in *England* we find, that, after he had settled a Correspondence with his learned Friends, particularly with Mr. *Thomas Wolfey*, he return’d to *Paris*, where he took the Opportunity of writing a Piece highly in the Praise of *England*, and dedicated it to Lord *Montjoy*. From *Paris* he went to *St. Omers* in the Year 1501, where he wrote an excellent *Manual of Piety and good Morals*. Six Months of the intermediate Time between his leaving and returning to *England* he spent in *Holland*, and still it seems he had a great Desire to step over from thence to *England*, to spend some Time with his Friends, among whom he distinguished Dr. *Colet*, Dean of *St. Paul’s*, Mr. *Thomas More*, and Mr. *Wolfey*, as the chief.

When *Erasmus* came to *England* a second Time, he first took up his Residence at *London*, and whilst he continued there, or at some Country Seat near adjoining, he and his Friend Mr. *More*, (who was now become a Student in *Lincoln’s-Inn*) spent some Part of their Time in translating certain Dialogues of *Lucian* from the *Greek*. And tho’ the Knowledge of this noble Language was soon found to be of infinite Advantage to our Countrymen, yet there was not wanting at first a Set of giddy and ignorant young Men in the University of *Oxford*, who opposed its Progress, and gathering

gathering into a Body, called themselves *Trojans*, began to wage War with the *Grecians*; and, to appear more terrible, they chose their Leaders, and dubbed them with the Names of *Priam*, *Hector* and *Paris*. These Franticks did much Mischief for a Time; but, thro' the Care of the Heads of the University, and the Assistance of *Erasmus*, *Wolsey* *, and others, her faithful Sons, the *Grecians* at last carried their Point, and the Study of this Language has ever since met with the highest Encouragement, as well in the Universities as in the different Schools throughout the Kingdom.

The Fame of *Erasmus*'s great Learning soon reach'd the Court, and it must not be forgot, that *Erasmus* being at *Greenwich*, Mr. *Thomas More* came to pay him a Visit, and for Diversiſion carried him to *Eltham*, the Nursery of the Royal Family; for there it seems the King's Children were educated. When they came to the great Hall, meeting Prince *Henry*, (who was then scarce nine Years of Age) Mr. *More* and another Gentleman presented him some of their elegant Pieces. *Erasmus*, not being apprised of their Intention, was not then prepared to do the like: But, observing he was a fine Youth, of quick Apprehension, he told his Highness, that he would take the first Opportunity of shewing his Respect and Duty

* Here we cannot but express our Surprize, at what the learned Dr. *Middleton* asserts, in his *Dedication* (4th Edit. of *A Letter from ROME*) to his great Patron, the present Bishop of *Norwich*, viz. 'In the very Infancy of Printing amongst us, Cardinal *Wolsey* saw this Effect of it, [*the Deliverance of our Country from a Popish Slavery*] and in a Speech to the Clergy, [*where to be seen we would gladly know*] 'publickly forewarned them, that if they did not de-

'stroy the Press, the Press would destroy them.' Since even Dr. *Knight*, *Erasmus*, and the common Stream of Writers, (as appears in the preceding Note) jointly own, that the Cardinal was a great Encourager of Learning and learned Men, having magnificent Designs of promoting both: Which seems to be inconsistent with pressing the Clergy to destroy the Press in England, that he had Power enough to have done, had he been so inclined, without their Assistance.

Duty to him. This put the young Prince, when he was at Dinner, upon sending *Erasmus* a short Epistle, as a Sort of Challenge; and, tho' *Erasmus* had not been a long Time conversant with the Muses, yet in three Days he drew up an elegant Ode in *Latin* Verse, *Hexameters* and *Iambics*, in Praise of King *Henry* the VIIth, his Royal Issue, and the whole Kingdom of *England*, illustrating his Piece with an Instance of *Alexander's* Generosity to the Poet *Cherylus*, and of the Acceptance of a Cup of cold Water from *Artaxerxes*; concluding, that if his Highness would vouchsafe to accept of such a Trifle, he hoped to offer somewhat more considerable, when his princely Virtues, advancing with his Years, would afford a more ample Field of Poetry. *Farewel, illustrious Prince, (says he) be the Patron of good Letters, adorn them with your Example, protect them by your Authority, and improve them by your Bounty.* Thus began the literary Correspondence between Prince *Henry* and the great Master of *Europe*, *Erasmus*. Whilst *Erasmus* resided in or near *London*, he was introduced to Archbishop *Warham*, Lord Chancellor, at *Lambeth*, who very kindly received him, as he himself relates in a Letter to a Friend. 'When the Archbishop, a little before Dinner, discoursed with me, and found me not a Man of many Words, he forbore till after Dinner, and then reassumed his Discourse in so easy and affable a Way as was very agreeable, and at last dismissed me with an honorary Present: This, in a genteel Manner, he gave me in private, acting at the same Time two Parts, the one not to put me to the Blush, and the other not to raise Envy in others.'

Erasmus next made a Visit to *Cambridge*, at the Request of *Fisher*, afterwards the famous Bishop of *Rochester*; but the learned Authors vary much as to the Time he was there; *Fuller* makes it in 1504, and *Knight* in 1506. But we rather think it was the latter End of this Year, for that it appears, from *Knight's* Account,

Account, that *Erasmus* was in *London* on New Year's Day, 1506, and presented, as a New Year's Gift, one of *Lucian's* Dialogues translated into *Latin*, to Dr. *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*: After which we do not find any Account of his returning to *Cambridge*.

It is remarkable, that the Doctor enumerates in his Life of *Erasmus*, P. 27, his first Acquaintance upon his coming to *Oxford*, to wit, Mr. *Thomas More*, Mr. *Thomas Wolsey*, Bursar of *Magdalen* College; *John Clarymond*, soon after President of the same College; and *Thomas Halsey*, who afterwards was promoted to a Bishoprick. 'These were, says *Knight*, his intimate Friends, as appears by the Correspondence he kept up with them, after his Removal from *Oxford*.' But has not given us one of *Erasmus's* Letters to *Wolsey*, among the many he has to others; and what is yet more strange, notwithstanding so early a Friendship between these two great Men, he takes no Notice of *Erasmus's* paying any Visit to his Friend *Wolsey*, upon his second Coming into *England*, tho' he was then in the high Road to Preferment, and, before *Erasmus's* Departure, no less than one of the King's Chaplains, and in great Favour with Bishop *Fox*, and the other learned Ministers, that had then very great Interest at Court.

Erasmus's great Friend and Cotemporary, the learned and ingenious Sir *Thomas More*, was born in *Milk-street*, *London*, the only Son of Sir *John More*, Knight, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, who sent him to be educated at *Oxford*, and, after quitting that University, he was elected a *Burgess*, and sat in the Parliament, called the last Year, when the Commons Consent was demanded for raising a Subsidy to be paid to the King, upon the Marriage of the Princess *Margaret* with *James* the IVth of *Scotland*, which, as some Writers say, Sir *Thomas* strenuously opposed, and by that Means the King was disappointed in his Expectation;

Of the Origin of Sir Thomas More, with some Account of his Life.

pectation; but they are mistaken, for it appears plainly from the Records, that the King obtained what he asked from his Parliament. Tho' Sir *Thomas's* Opposition raised his Majesty's Indignation so high against both Father and Son, that a Complaint being afterwards brought against Sir *John*, in respect to his executing his Office, he was clapt up in the Tower of *London*, and there detained Prisoner till he purchased his Liberty, by paying 100*l.* but it does not appear, whether he was dismissed from his Office or not. However, certain it is, that, as Sir *Thomas* did not ask Pardon of the King, for opposing his Request in the House of Commons, which *Dudley* advised him to, he was made so very uneasy the latter Part of the King's Reign, that he had Thoughts of retiring beyond Sea, in order to avoid his Majesty's Displeasure.

*The Lord Mayor
of London, and
other Citizens,
fined.*

Tho' the City of *London* was on all Occasions in great Favour with the King, yet that could not induce his Majesty to treat her Citizens any better than the rest of his Subjects, where any Money was to be got under Colour of Forfeitures; for his two Minions kept a sharp Look-out, and this very Year attacked Sir *Thomas Knefworth*, then *Lord Mayor*, and both his Sheriffs, who proceeded so far against them as to send them to Prison, upon a Charge of Abuses committed in the Execution of their Offices, where they were all detained till they paid no less a Fine than 1400*l.* And with these Proceedings ended the Year 1505.

*Affairs of
Flanders and
England,
1506.*

By this Time King *Philip* found Means to suppress the Disorders that had arisen in *Flanders*. On the 10th of *January* he set out with his Queen, unknown to *Ferdinand*, on their Voyage to *Spain*; but they had not been long at Sea before a terrible Storm arose, and dispersed their Fleet in such a Manner that they

they were obliged to put in at *Weymouth*, in which, by the Violence of the Tempest, the King and Queen were so sick and fatigued, that, contrary to the Opinion of Council, they insisted on Landing, in order to refresh themselves.

The People of the Country, seeing a numerous Fleet on the Coast, were much alarmed, and immediately took Arms ; Sir *Thomas Trenchard* at the Head of some Troops marched to *Weymouth*, to concert Measures with the Inhabitants, in order to oppose an Invasion ; but was agreeably surprized to find, instead of Enemies, Royal Guests just landed, on whom he waited, humbly inviting them to his House, and sent an Express Post to Court.

Philip and Jane of Castile land at Weymouth.

Their Majesties being a little recovered from their Fatigue, and the Storm greatly abated, after they had been two Days on Shore, intimated, that they intended to repair on board the Fleet, and proceed on their Voyage, which Sir *Thomas*, tho' with great Respect, opposed, till a Messenger returned from Court.

Henry no sooner heard of the unexpected News, but he sent the Earl of *Arundel* to compliment them, who executed his Commission in great State, at the Head of three hundred Men on Horseback, and, for the more Grandeur, entered *Weymouth* by Torch-light, The Earl, being introduced to the King and Queen, delivered his Majesty's Compliments, and withal assured them, that he had it in Command, to let them know, they might here use as much Freedom as in their own Dominions, and that his Master would make all possible Haste to come and embrace them.

Philip, now finding it was in vain to think of returning before he had seen the King, posted to *Windsor*, leaving his Consort to follow him by easy Journeys ; five Miles from *Windsor* he was in a very splendid Manner received by the Prince of *Wales*, accompanied by several Lords, Earls, Knights, and others

to the Amount of near five hundred Persons ; about four Miles from *Windsor*, *Philip* was next met by the

Philip and Henry's Interview at Windsor. King himself with all his Court, to give him a hearty Welcome. *Philip* at first meeting the King, told him, *That he was punished for his refusing to come within his walled Town, Calais*, when they

met last : To which the King replied, *That Walls and Seas were nothing where Hearts were open, and that he was here only to be served.* King *Philip's* Queen was likewise received in a very Royal Manner.

His Majesty now began to think how to reap some Advantage from the Accident which had throwed them into his Dominions, yet he did not let a Day pass but new Pleasures and Diversions were found out to make their Stay in *England* agreeable.

Some Days after *Henry* insinuated to *Philip*, that, as he had altered his Condition, it would be proper to renew their Treaty of Commerce, to which he agreed, *Rapin* avers, ' That the Reason alledged by the King ' was of no Force ; for *Philip*, by being King of *Castile*, was no less Sovereign of the *Low Countries*, the ' first Dignity causing no Alteration in the last.' But his Majesty had his Aim, *Philip* plainly perceiving, that, as he was in his Power, he ought carefully to avoid all Occasions of offending him, lest he should find some Pretence to detain him in *England*. He was not ignorant of the strict Union between *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, and therefore was under some Apprehension, that he would think of obstructing his Voyage to oblige his Father-in-law. However this might be, the Treaty was renewed, but with some Alterations to the Advantage of the *English*.

Soon after this Point was accomplished, *Henry* told *Philip*, in a serious Humour, *Sir, You have been saved on my Coast, I hope you will not suffer me to be Shipwrecked on your's.* *Philip* asked him, *What he meant by that Speech ?* I mean, says the King, *that that bair-brained*

brained Fellow, the Earl of Suffolk, is protected in your Country, and begins to play the Fool, when others are weary of it. I thought, Sir, (replied the King of Castile) your Felicity had been above those Thoughts; but, if it troubles you, I will banish him. His Majesty answered, *Hornets were best in their Nests, and worst when they fled abroad,* and expressed his Desire of having the Earl delivered to him. This Request startled Philip, who said, *He could not deliver up the Earl with Honour, nor will it be for your's; for the World will think you use me as a Prisoner.* Henry smartly rejoined, *Then the Matter is at an end, for I will take that Dishonour upon me, and so your Honour is saved.*

The King of Castile, perceiving Henry was bent on having the Earl delivered to him, and that he had in his Hands an infallible Means to obtain his End, took a little Time to consider what to do, and, apprehending, that he might have Occasion for the King's Friendship, he came to a seeming sudden Resolution to deliver up the Earl, and withal said, *Since you are pleased to give Laws to me, permit me to do the same by you; I will deliver him up, but you shall give me your Honour, that you will not take away his Life;* which Henry complied with; and Philip desiring Leave to transact this Affair in his own Way, it was granted. Philip hereon sent to the Earl to advise him to return to England, for that he had obtained his Pardon of the King. Suffolk joyfully received the News, and soon after landed at Dover, where he was put under a strong Guard and conveyed to the Tower. A gracious Pardon indeed!

This Affair being finished to Henry's Liking, he now opened his Mind to Philip concerning another Matter, that was, his Design of marrying Margaret of Savoy, his Sister, and Philip seemed very well pleased with the Proposal. As indeed nothing could be more for his Advantage, than to make Henry his Friend, lest he should openly espouse the King of Arragon's Quarrel.

In short, there was not much Treaty about the Matter, it being soon concluded on.

Whilst these Affairs were transacting, *Henry* not only continued his Entertainments and Diversions for the King of *Castile* and his Royal Consort, but also made him one of the Knights of the Garter.

Philip having been in *England* three Months, and *Henry* obtained what he desired, they began to think of proceeding on their Voyage; and accordingly, having taken a suitable Leave of the *English* Court, they went to *Falmouth*, where they embarked on the 23d of *April* for *Spain*. Though *Philip* could not but see through all the Caresses he received from *Henry*, he was passive, being under a sort of Necessity to comply with his Demands while in *England*, having it not in his Power to depart when he pleased, otherwise it cannot be thought, as he intended to sail for *Spain* in *January*, he would have staid in *England* to near the End of *April*.

The Royal Pair at last landed at *Corme-*
Philip lands *ma del Conde* in *Galicia*. *Philip*, before he
in Spain. left the *Low Countries*, had sent an Am-
 bassador to the King his Father-in-law, and soon
 after a Negotiation was carried on at *Salamanca*,
 where it was agreed, ' That they should all three have
 ' an equal Authority in *Castile*; that publick Instru-
 ' ments should run in all their Names; that, as soon
 ' as the King of *Castile* and Queen *Jane* arrived at their
 ' States, the People should take an Oath to them as
 ' their Sovereigns; that they should do the same to
 ' the King of *Arragon*, as Administrator of the Realm;
 ' and to *Charles* Duke of *Luxemburg*, as Heir to the
 ' Kingdoms of *Castile*, *Leon*, and *Granada*; that the
 ' Revenues should be equally divided between the two
 ' Kings; and that the Governors of the Towns and
 ' Fortresses should be named, one Half by *Philip*, and
 ' the other by *Ferdinand*.'

This

This extraordinary Scheme of Government made the *Castilians* apprehensive of great Troubles, especially when the King of *Castile*, being landed with his Forces, declared, that he would not stand to the Treaty of *Salamanca*. *Ferdinand* on the other hand was already resolved what to do : As soon as he saw *Philip*, he declared, in a Conference he had with him at a Place called *Remessal*, that he was determined to retire to his Kingdom of *Arragon* upon certain Conditions, which he named.

The Proposals were so much in his Favour, that he immediately closed with them, and at the same time it was agreed, ' That *Ferdinand* should reserve ' to himself the grand Mastership of the Military Orders ; certain Legacies left him by the Will ' of the late Queen, his Wife ; the Revenues of the ' *Indies*, which were not then so considerable as they ' have been since ; and a Pension of 25,000 Crowns.'

No sooner were the several Articles ratified, but *Ferdinand* set out for *Arragon*, and from thence proceeded to *Naples*, not doubting but he should speedily hear of a Change in *Castile*. In the mean time he made a secret Protest in Presence of some Lords against this Treaty, to which, as he declared, he had been forced. He charged *Ximenes*, and *Frederick* Duke of *Alva*, to be careful of his Interest in his Absence, and gave Orders to all those of his Party to follow their Advice in every respect.

King Ferdinand quits Spain, and arrives at Naples.

The King of *Castile's* Joy, at the great Advantage he had gained over his Father-in-law, was greatly abated at the News he received at *Valladolid*, of what had passed in *France* in the Assembly of the States held at *Tours*.

Notice has already been taken, that in the Marriage Treaty between *Clauda* of *France* and *Charles* of *Austria*, there were stipulated sundry Covenants as advantageous to the Arch-duke

Affairs of France.

Charles,

Charles, as they were prejudicial to *France*; insomuch, that the common Opinion was, even at the Time of entering into the Treaty, that the King passed it without any Design to execute it; but, as there was a Treaty, he was under a Necessity of finding out some Pretence, consistent with his Honour, for setting it aside.

The Expedient he pitched on for this Purpose was to assemble the States, at the Instance of several Lords of the Kingdom in Concert with him. This Meeting was held at *Tours*, where the States laid before the King, ‘ the great Inconveniencies of the Treaty and ‘ of the Marriage concluded between Madam *Clauda* ‘ of *France* and *Charles* of *Austria* :’ And he answered, ‘ That he had nothing more at Heart, than the Welfare of his Subjects, but he could not without great ‘ Reluctance recede from the Promise he had given ‘ for the Marriage in question.’ They replied, ‘ That ‘ he was obliged, by his Coronation Oath, to provide ‘ for the Security of the People God had entrusted him ‘ with above all other Things; that it was not in his ‘ Power to alienate the Domain of the Crown, at least ‘ without a considerable Advantage accruing thereby ‘ to the State; that the Alienation he had made on ‘ the Occasion of this Marriage was, on the contrary, ‘ very prejudicial to it; that he could not oblige the ‘ Princess in Person to consent to it, who was yet a ‘ Minor; and that they humbly intreated him to ‘ marry her to *Francis de Valois*, which would be a ‘ much properer Match for the Princess, and more ‘ for the Good of the State.’

The King, convinced by these and other Reasons, urged upon that Occasion, told them, ‘ That he would ‘ consider of it, and communicate his Resolution to ‘ them the next Day in the General Assembly of the ‘ States :’ Accordingly he declared to them, ‘ In Compliance with their Zeal for his Glory, and the Good ‘ of his Subjects, he granted them the Request they ‘ had

‘ had made such pressing Instances to him for, and
 ‘ had resolved, that the Princess should not be espou-
 ‘ sed to *Charles* of *Austria*, and did consent to her
 ‘ Marriage with *Francis de Valois*, presumptive Heir
 ‘ of the Crown.’

Upon this the whole Assembly broke out into an Extremity of Joy, which the most Part expressed rather in Tears than Words, and the King was so sensibly touched with it, that he could not refrain from them himself. This Joy was compleated, when, on the 21st Day of *March*, being the Feast of the *Ascension*, the Princess was betrothed to *Francis* in the Presence of the whole Court, by the Cardinal *D’Amboise*; after which the King dismissed the States.

Thus this Prince corrected the greatest Mistake he had ever been guilty of; but some say, he plainly foresaw, that, before Prince *Charles* and the Princess *Clauda* could be of Age to marry, many Alterations would fall out, so as to open a Passage to him for departing from the Treaty.

He gave all his Allies Advice of what had passed at *Tours*, and particularly to the King of *England*, by an Ambassador he sent on purpose: But it was not so easy to obtain the Approbation of the Emperor and the King of *Castile*, because of the great Injury accruing from thence to *Charles* of *Austria*, who began at that Time to be called Prince of *Spain*. Upon the whole *Lewis* cloaked himself under the Pretence, that he had been forced to this Resolution by the States of his Kingdom, who made use of their Right upon this Occasion.

These Princes not being in a Condition to shew their Resentment, the Ambassadors met with a better Reception than they expected. The King of *Castile* more especially had Reason to carry it fair, lest *Lewis* should fall on the *Low Countries* during his Absence, and more so, because he found a general Discontent among his People in *Castile*, partly occasioned by the

springing up of the Mines which *Ferdinand* had laid before his Departure, in order to embarrass him.

But the Death of the King of *Castile*, which happened, *September* the 10th, at *Philip, King of Castile.* *Burgos*, gave a new Turn to Affairs. He went to this Place against his Will, to please his Queen, and the Cause of his Death was feeding too plentifully at an Entertainment given him by Don *John Emanuel*, his Favourite, and using too much Exercise after it; for that Day he found himself indisposed, and died the 7th Day after he was taken ill, before he had reigned in *Castile* full five Months. He was a handsome Person, somewhat fat; witty, loving, and bountiful to excess. Upon the Death of this Prince, the Estates enjoyed by him in *Flanders* descended to Prince *Charles*, his eldest Son; and as he was not of a suitable Age to govern that Country, the *Flemings* requested the Emperor, *Maximilian*, to take upon him the Government, till his Grandson came of Age, which he conditionally accepted of, and then deputed *Margaret* of *Savoy*, his Daughter, to take Care of all Things in his Absence, who soon after arrived at *Brussels*.

Affairs of Spain. The Grandees of *Spain* assembled on the Death of King *Philip* in *Ximenes's* Chamber, to consult about the Government of *Castile*.

The Constable, the Admiral, and the Duke of *Alva* advised to send and humbly intreat King *Ferdinand*, to repair immediately into *Spain*, and in the mean time chuse some able Persons to take Care of the publick Affairs; the Point as to chusing them, occasioned warm Debates; at last *Ximenes* delivered his Opinion to the following Effect:

‘ My Lords, King *Ferdinand*, with great Glory, ruled
 ‘ this Kingdom for many Years, before it descended to
 ‘ his Son-in-law; let us not now therefore fall out among
 ‘ ourselves about the Choice of Governors in his Absence,
 ‘ God having given *Castile* Men capable to govern it,
 ‘ and such as can give a good Account of their Actions.



COLUMBUS.

Who first Discovered the West Indies.



N. Barr del.

Upon this the Assembly unanimously chose *Ximenes*, the Constable of *Castile*, and the Duke of *Alva*, Governors of the State, Guardians to the Queen, and Tutors to Prince *Charles*. *Ximenes* informed King *Ferdinand* of what had passed, who in Return ordered him to take Care of every Thing, with his wonted Fidelity and Integrity, till his Arrival in *Spain*.

Now the sagacious *Ximenes* sat alone at the Helm, for, notwithstanding the Resolutions of the aforesaid Assembly, he was, by the Council Royal, chosen sole Guardian of the State, the Queen, and the Infant *Charles*, and raised Regiments of Horse and Foot for Guards to the Queen, Prince, and himself. The Grandees of *Spain*, astonished to see a Man bred in a Cloyster, have recourse to Arms for authorizing his Conduct, blamed him as a giddy-headed Person: But he, who knew of what Importance it was to awe the Factious, and have Forces in Readiness to suppress Irruptions, gave them Leave to talk, but prosecuted his Designs.

Queen *Jane*, by the Travels in Child-birth, or rather (as is said) by some poisonous Drugs, given her by a *Flemish* Lady, King *Philip's* Mistress, was much disordered in her rational Faculty. This made her wander up and down the Countries; quitting *Burgos*, she took a Journey to *Bennerriale*, where she was delivered of a Princess named *Catherine*. While she lay in the Citizens of *Medina* took up Arms, and brought the City to the Brink of Destruction; the Province of *Granada*, and the Guards of the Sea-coast also, were become Enemies to their Country. *Ximenes* prudently opposed the one, pacified the other, and by degrees made all quiet.

All *Europe* being much indebted to *Columbus* for his valuable Discovery of the *West Indies*, we shall here continue a short Account of him till his Death.

*Columbus's
further Voyages
till his Death.*

Some Time after his first Voyage, he proceeded on a

second to the *West Indies*. On the 3d of *November*, 1493, he saw Land, and it prov'd to be an Island, which he named *Dominica*, because discovered of a *Sunday*, where they saw Swarms of Parrots, crying aloud as they usually do ; at this Place he caught the first Parrots that were brought into *Europe*. Soon after he saw several other Islands, to which he gave different Names ; particularly he settled a Colony, called *Ifabella*, in the Island of *Hispaniola*. His Men in this Voyage gave him much Uneasiness, owing to their being in very great Want of Provisions ; yet that did not hinder him from sailing farther, where he not only discovered *Cuba*, but the Island of *Jamaica*. As for the first he could not certainly tell whether it was an Island or not, and from thence he returned to *Hispaniola*, and had for some Time both Enemies and Famine to encounter ; and even the many Services he had done for *Spain* did not protect him against the Malice of his Foes, who misrepresented his Actions to their *Catholick* Majesties. Upon hearing of what they had alledged against him he returned to *Spain*, and came into the Bay of *Cadiz* on the 10th of *June*, 1496 ; from whence he attended their Majesties, where he so well justified his Conduct, that they were pleased to dismiss the Complaints brought against him.

On the 30th of *May*, 1498, *Columbus* set Sail upon his third Voyage with six Ships, in Pursuit of another new Discovery. On the 20th of *August* he discovered the Island of *Trinity* ; from thence he proceeded to *Hispaniola*, where he had several Mutineers, as well *Spaniards* as *Indians*, to engage with, which took him up the Remainder of this Year, and most Part of 1499, before he could overcome them, and afterwards he had another Insurrection to encounter, which he also happily suppressed in the Year 1500.

The Beginning of the Year 1501, *Francis de Bovadilla* arrived at *Hispaniola*, with a new Commission from

from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* ; he no sooner landed but he very attentively listned to the Complaints of the most notorious of *Columbus's* Enemies ; and, without so much as seeing him, or hearing what he had to say in his Defence, *Bovadilla* caused him to be seized and put in Irons, refusing to permit any Person to converse with, or even speak to him. This is *Spanish* Gratitude indeed ! In that Condition, like a Malefactor, he sent him into *Spain*, where he was brought into their Majesties Presence at *Granada*, on the 17th of *December*, who received him graciously, and declared they were sorry for the Treatment he had met with, it being not their Intention, that he should be any ways ill treated, and at once ordered him to be set at Liberty, withal promising to redress his Grievances, and to make him in some measure easy ; for the present their Majesties directed 1000 Ducats to be paid him, but the Satisfaction promised for the Injuries he had sustained, particularly from *Bovadilla*, he was never able to obtain.

Notwithstanding the Treatment he had met with, his Mind still run upon taking another Voyage to the *Indies*, and this he accordingly did ; for, on the 13th of *February*, 1503, he set sail on his fourth Voyage, and on the 9th of *May* he arrived at *Grand Canaria*, and then sailed to the Island of *Martinico*, where his Men landed to refresh themselves ; from thence proceeding further on his Voyage, he discovered not only several Islands about *Jamaica*, but, on the 29th of *September*, he found out *Porto Bello*, which will be for ever famous in the *English* Annals : For, tho' strongly fortified and guarded by three Castles well planted with Cannon, advantageously situated in several Parts of the Bay, yet it was taken and altogether demolished by our brave Admiral *Vernon*, with six Men of War, &c. in *November*, 1739.

Columbus left *Porto Bello* on the 9th of *November*, and sailed to the River *Belen*, where he resolved to

settle a Colony; from thence he entered the River *Veragua*, and found the Gold Mines of *Urira*, where he had Plenty of Gold Plates delivered to him. In the Year 1504, he arrived at *Jamaica*, and found the Island in great Disorder; but, by his Presence, he in some measure pacified the Malecontents; and, after a short Stay there, he landed once more at *Hispaniola*, where he was again very ill used by the Governor: Here he received the News of the Death of the Queen of *Spain*, which was the greatest Affliction that could have befallen him after all his Sufferings, she having always favoured him, and in whose Protection he confided; whereas King *Ferdinand* was ever averse to him, and only amused him with fair Words.

Upon this he set out for *Spain* in 1505, where he rested himself for some Months at *Seville*, and then waited on the King, who he thought did not receive him as he deserved; and, to conclude our Account of this great Man, he laid it so much to Heart, that he ended his Life on the 20th of *May*, 1506, at *Valladolid*, and that before he knew whether *Cuba* was an Island or not, which he much desired. He was a Man of an undaunted Courage, and high Thoughts; bore the many Troubles and Adversities that had attended him with great Magnanimity, ever relying on the divine Providence. In short, had he performed such wonderful Enterprizes among the Antients, (a Relation whereof would fill a Volume) 'tis not to be doubted, that he would have had Statues, and even Temples erected to his Honour, and some Star dedicated to his Name, as was done to *Hercules* and *Bacchus*: And, whatever Treatment his Memory may meet with in *Spain*, in *Great Britain* it will be renowned whilst the World endures.

But to return, the King of *Spain* was all this while at *Naples*, where he employ'd himself in regulating both the Civil and Military Affairs; and though he had received the News of the Death of the King

of *Castile*, yet he was in no Haste to return to *Spain*, being well assured of *Ximenes's* Devotion to him, and of those who had been chosen by this Prelate, to govern under him during the *Interregnum*.

Ferdinand was now very intent to maintain an entire Correspondence with the King of *France*; the Pope also carried it fair with this Prince, in hopes of recovering, by his Help, the rest of the Towns that had been formerly forced from the Holy See, which still remained in the Hands of the *Venetians*. His Holiness being apprized of King *Lewis's* Inclination to renew the League concluded at *Blois* against that State, it put him upon setting it again on foot; but the following Incident happened, that retarded the Measures proposed by him for this Purpose.

The *Genoese* revolted, and gentle Methods were in vain made use of by his Majesty of *France* to reclaim them, which obliged King *Lewis* to march in Person at the Head of an Army to chastise them: At first he met with great Difficulties, the Rebels, having got a considerable Body of regular Forces together, disputed every Inch of Ground with him: However, he carried his Point at last with much Glory, the whole Expedition being managed with all possible Prudence and Vigour, and, tho' it cost the King an obstinate Battle, he gained the Victory, and forced them to surrender at Discretion.

*The Rebellion at
Genoa suppressed
by the French.*

The Clemency *Lewis* shewed upon this Occasion (says *Guicciardin*) charm'd those People; he allowed them to continue all their antient Customs, only with this Difference, that, as they had formerly held their Titles by Contracts, they were now confirmed as Privileges, with the Reserve of Right to deprive them, upon a new Revolt.

The Expedition of *Genoa* discovered various Scenes of strange Politicks. *Demetrio Justiniani*, one of the principal

principal Leaders in the Revolt, being condemned to be beheaded, confessed just before his Execution, that the Pope had fomented the Revolt of *Genoa*, at the same Time that he was impatient of renewing the League against the *Venetians*. *Lewis* had his Thoughts upon the same Design, provided he could persuade the Emperor to enter again into the League ; yet at the same time the Pope promised the *Venetian* Embassadors to support their State against *France*, in case she should attack the Republick.

Ferdinand of *Arragon*, notwithstanding the Treaty he had made with the King of *France*, (one Article of which was, ‘ That the Children to be born of him and his new Queen should inherit the Kingdom of *Naples*,’) decreed, at a Meeting of the States of that Country, ‘ That the Children of his Daughter *Jane* should succeed to the Crown.’ And tho’ he had thus broke the Treaty, he put himself into the Hands of *Lewis*, at an Interview he had with him at *Savona*. *These were Mysteries*, say the *French* Writers, *which were difficult to fathom*.

Lewis now thought proper to honour *Gonsalvo* with some distinguishing Marks of Respect, which was the last this famous General enjoy’d ; for *Ferdinand*, pretending to be dissatisfied with some of *Gonsalvo*’s latter Actions in *Naples*, left him without Employ or Recompence the rest of his Days, (which were not many after this) and shew’d him no other Acknowledgment for the signal Services he had done, than that of a magnificent Funeral. So fickle and dangerous is the Nature of Fortune, and the Favour of Courts ; ill Services deserve Punishment, and good Services, by the Envy of Competitors, often go unrewarded ; yet the Name of truly great Men can’t die. *Gonsalvo* got immortal Glory abroad, and a singular Reverence in the Dominions of *Spain*, of which

the Histories of that Country afford frequent Instances, though slighted by his ungrateful King.

Ferdinand on the other hand, to express his Esteem for the Marshal *D' Aubigny*, who had likewise distinguished himself in the Wars of *Italy*, and was now laid up with the Gout, did him the Honour of a Visit. This General did not long survive after this Favour was shewn him; however, he left behind him the Character of a brave Soldier, and a faithful General and Governor.

Ferdinand visits D' Aubigny, who soon after died.

Thus the two Kings passed three Days together, and then parted; *Lewis* returned to *France*, and *Ferdinand* continued his Journey for *Spain*, where he soon arrived in Safety, and once more took upon himself the Government of *Castile*, which, with the Kingdoms that composed what is now called *Spain*, he governed till his Death, and here we shall end the Year 1506.

On the 21st of *January*, *Margaret*, Queen of *Scotland*, was delivered of a Son, stiled *James* Prince of *Scotland* and the Isles. Her Majesty, by the Throws in Labour, being brought to the very Pangs of Death, *James* went in Pilgrimage on Foot for her Recovery to *St. Ninian's* in *Galloway*, a Place in those credulous Times famous for the Burial of *St. Ninian*, the Apostle of the *Britons*, and well known by the Processions and Visits from the neighbouring Countries of *England* and *Ireland*; and, at his Return, he found the Queen recovered, and the young Prince dead. But the Year following his Queen brought him another Son, whom they named *Arthur*, who also soon after died.

Affairs of Scotland and England. 1507.

The Loss of his two Sons, which he took as a Punishment from Heaven for the Death of his Father, made him again very uneasy in his Mind, which put him upon a Design of leaving his Kingdom for a while,

while, to visit the *Holy Sepulchre*, in order to expiate for the Wrongs he had done his Royal Sire, in appearing in Arms against him; but he was diverted from this Progress by other Accidents that afterwards arose.

Wolsey's first Embassy to the Emperor Maximilian.

The Beginning of this Year *Maximilian* arrived in *Flanders*, and took up his Residence at *Bruges*; *Henry*, being informed thereof, called to mind the Agreement he had made with the late King *Philip*, in respect to marrying his Sister *Margaret*, and he now seemed desirous to consummate the Marriage; but, as there were some Points to settle with the Emperor previous thereto, it put him upon enquiring after a proper Person to send as his Ambassador, in order to conclude these Matters.

Bishop *Fox* and Sir *Thomas Lovell* recommended *Wolsey*; the King thereupon commanded him to be brought into his Presence, and *Wolsey* being introduced, his Majesty proposed several Questions to him, relating to Affairs of State, which he answered so discreetly, that *Henry* soon discovered he was a Person of so prompt a Wit and excellent Understanding, that he thought him fit for the Charge, and he was ordered to prepare for his Journey.

Whilst his Instructions were drawing up he had frequent Access to the King and Council, to whom he gave fresh Proofs of his Capacity for political Affairs; but, having received his Dispatches on a *Sunday*, about four in the Afternoon, he set forward from *Richmond*, and soon came to *London*, where he found a Barge ready to carry him to *Gravesend*; in less than three Hours he arrived there, immediately took Post-horses, and reached *Dover* the next Morning; the Passage-boat being just going off for *Calais*, he was so lucky as to get to that Place before Noon; from thence he proceeded with such Expedition, that he got to the Imperial Court on *Monday Evening*.

The Emperor, having Notice that a Minister attended who was charged with a Commission from the King of *England*, instantly gave him Audience, to whom *Wolsey* opened his Credentials, and, having delivered them in Form, pray'd, that his Return to his Sovereign might be expedited; to which Request *Maximilian* was so favourable, that the same Night he received his Answer, wherein every thing he had proposed on the Part of his Master was agreed to. Upon this, early on *Wednesday* Morning, he took Post for *Calais*, where he came at the Opening of the Gates, and found the Passage-boat ready to put to Sea; he embarked therein, and in a short Time landed at *Dover*; Post-horses being there ready for him, he got safe that Night to *Richmond*, where he reposed himself after so fatiguing a Journey. On *Thursday* Morning he attended at Court, and as soon as he saw his Majesty he threw himself at his Feet; the King, not expecting to see him there, and, supposing he had delayed his Setting-out, gave him a severe Rebuke. On which, to *Henry's* great Surprise, he addressed himself in the following Words:

Introduced to his Audience of the Emperor.

' If it may please your Highness, I have
' already been with the Emperor, and dis-
' patched your Affairs, I trust, to your
' Grace's Contentation; and then presented
his Letters of Credence.

Brings the Answer to the King.

The King, dissembling for the present his Admiration, at this extraordinary Dispatch and quick Return, asked him, *If he had not received Orders by a Messenger?* *Wolsey* replied, ' He had met with such a Messenger upon the Road in his Return, and received the Orders; but that he himself, when at the Imperial Court, having preconceived the Subject Matter of it, as absolutely necessary to his Majesty's Service, had presumed to supply the Defect of his Dispatches in that Particular; and, because he had

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therein

‘ therein exceeded his Commission, he humbly implored his Pardon.’

His Majesty, being pleased with the Expedient, and in general with the Success of his Negotiation, readily excused him, withal giving *Wolfey* his Royal Thanks for the Service he had done; and for the present he was dismissed, being commanded to attend after Dinner.

Attends the King in Council. *Wolfey* was ready at the Time appointed, to report his Embassy to the King in Council, where he appeared with so graceful a Deportment, and delivered himself in such eloquent Language, that he received the utmost Applause; all declaring, that he was a Man of Capacity and Diligence, and deserved to be further employed.

Archbishop Parker's Character of him. *Archbishop Parker*, in his *Brit. Antiq.* gives *Wolfey* the following Character, *Doctus est, Oratione dulcis—Corporis etiam Gestu & Habitu concinnus.*

There is no doubt but his elegant Manner and Address contributed very much to inforce that natural Dignity that appeared in him so early; for he is allowed to have had a fine Personage, as well as a graceful Way of delivering himself. It's no wonder he was soon taken notice of, because those excellent Qualifications seldom fail of giving a Man great Credit in publick, especially in the Courts of Princes. When an Orator delivers himself with these Advantages he is generally thought to speak well; even Men of Parts are apt to be silent, and to submit to his Decisions, without examining strictly into the Chain of his Reasoning.

Cæsar found them on many Occasions of great Service to him, even when under the disadvantageous Circumstances of a Captive, in the Hands of rugged and intractable Pirates; and the superior Genius, that, as *Anthony* was told, always lessened his own Dignity in the Presence of *Augustus*, was certainly

these Qualifications, or natural Endowments, inherent in him ; of which, at several Interviews between these great Men, *Augustus* ever appeared to be possessed in a more eminent and conspicuous Degree. These may be termed a Spirit of Authority and Dominion, whereby Nature has distinguished some singular, tho' few, Persons, and which sometimes happens to shine in People of low Rank (witness *Perkin Warbeck*) with a Gracefulness and Lustre that is surprizing.

It was the Prevalency of this Genius that disarmed the Soldier, sent with express Orders, and came fully resolved to assassinate *C. Marius*. It is very necessary for a General, but more especially for a Prince, in whom we call it Majesty. It was frequently seen in the *Roman* Senate, and in the Emperors of *Rome*, some of which owed their Elevation to it : But it has no where shewed itself more nobly, than in the *British* Parliament, particularly in the Persons of the two late Speakers, who for a long Series of Years have graced the Chair of that august Assembly with the highest Honour.

Those who have drawn *Wolsey* seem to have had a particular Design of giving him a grand Air, but it's no where expressed with so much Life, Power, and Grace, as in the excellent Statue erected to his Memory in *Christ Church, Oxford*, at the Expence of a Protestant Bishop, the late Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*.

Shakespeare describes *Wolsey* after this Manner :

*There's in him Stuff that puts him to these Ends ;
For, not being propt by Ancestry, whose Grace
Chalks Successors their Way ; nor call'd upon
For high Feats done to the Crown ; neither ally'd
To eminent Assistance : But, Spider-like,
Out of his self-drawn Web, that gives us Note,
The Force of his own Merit makes his Way.
A Gift that Heaven gives for him that buys
Place next to the King.*————

It is evident, *Wolsey* raised his Sentiments with his Fortune ; as he was preferred, he studied to be equal to the Trust reposed in him, and always conducted both himself and his Conversation suitable to the different Station of Life he was in.

As we have been speaking of *Wolsey's* great Abilities, which seemed to presage his future Greatness at Court, we shall here speak a few Words in respect to Courts in general, extracted from an *Italian* Author, who observes,

‘ That one of the greatest Extravagancies he has met with in the World, is the Error of those who are perpetually exclaiming against Courts ; and it has generally been remarked, that but few of those, that were of this Humour, had been at Court ; and, if perchance they had, they made no considerable Stay there. For God’s Sake, what kind of Thing was the World before there were any Courts ? Nothing but the Refuge of Baseness, the Quintessence of Ignorance, an apparent Blindness, and, in a Word, a barbarous Throne of Vices, and all sorts of ill Actions.

‘ Many complain of the Court, but few of themselves. It’s true, some have not been able to maintain the Ground, and keep the Place they had once in it ; and therefore complain of the Court, as if the Court were bound to descend to a Compliance with their particular Humour.

‘ Who is it that frames and constitutes a Court ? ’tis the Prince, without whom there is no such Thing. But who brings Vices to the Court ? the Courtiers ; and yet, tho’ the Courtiers are bad, and the Prince good, all the Fault is laid upon the Prince.

‘ Princes seldom fail to recompence those Services which they receive from their Courtiers, and without this Quality they would not long be Princes. It is true, that some are more reserved, and others
‘ more

‘ more liberal in their Rewards ; but still the Defect is
 ‘ not in the Prince, but the Courtier’s, whose Am-
 ‘ bition is not to be ruled by his Prince’s Judgment,
 ‘ and against whom he exclaims for not contenting
 ‘ him.

‘ To the Ambition or Desire of Honour, is always
 ‘ added a Desire of Riches in Courtiers, these two
 ‘ Monsters being the natural Production of Courts.

‘ The Court is to the World, as a Furnace to Gold,
 ‘ to purify and refine Men’s Wits : Whensoever any
 ‘ body’s Ingenuity is under a Cloud, and unknown,
 ‘ let him repair to Court ; for there, without doubt, he
 ‘ will be pressed to an exact Trial of his Skill, and
 ‘ let him use it all in hiding himself, and drawing, as
 ‘ it were, a Veil over his Designs, yet he shall find
 ‘ the Court to be the true Touch-stone of Men’s Ac-
 ‘ tions, and shall be known for what he is really, and
 ‘ not for what he would seem to be.’

Wolsey, after his Return from his Embassy, in parti-
 cular waited on his great Friends, the Bishop of *Win-*
chester and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, to acknowledge the Fa-
 vours they had respectively conferred on him ; and the
 King himself several times acknowledged the Service
 these Ministers had done, in recommending so able a
 Person to be employed in this Embassy, which so
 greatly pleased the Bishop and Sir *Thomas*, that they
 were ready at all Times to do *Wolsey* good Offices.

There is another Reason assigned, besides *Wolsey*’s
 personal Merit, why Bishop *Fox* so earnestly, and on
 all Occasions, espoused his Interest ; that Prelate had
 a particular View of doing himself Service, in the
 Promotion of one so well qualified for any Employ-
 ment at Court, and hoped, by the Assistance of so able
 and active a Person, to be in a better Condition to ob-
 viate the Designs of his potent Rival the Earl of *Sur-*
ry, and by that Means hinder his Lordship from fill-
 ing the Court with his Creatures and Dependants ; tho’

this Finesse of the Bishop's did not appear, till the Beginning of the next Reign.

A new Treaty of Commerce between England and Flanders.

After the King had settled his Marriage Agreement with *Maximilian*, he sent Ambassadors to *Margaret of Savoy*, to negotiate an Affair with her, that related both to the Interest of his Subjects and the People of the *Low Countries*, who soon concluded with the Dutcheſs a Provisional Treaty of Commerce, till ſome Differences, cauſed by the late Treaty between the Merchants of both Nations, could be adjusted, which was ſigned at *Bruges* the 5th of *June*.

A Treaty of Marriage between Prince Charles and the Princeſs Mary.

Theſe Ambassadors afterwards met ſome Miniſters belonging to the Emperor at *Calais*, where they ſpent the reſt of the Year in Treating of the Marriage of *Charles*, now ſtiled Archduke of *Austria*, Sovereign of the *Low Countries*, and Prince of *Caſtile*, with the Princeſs *Mary*, his Maſteſty's ſecond Daughter, who was one of the moſt beautiful Princeſſes in the World. Accordingly, on the 21ſt of *December*, they ſigned a Treaty, whereby they agreed in the Names of their Maſters, that *Charles* ſhould marry the Princeſs *Mary*, whoſe Portion was to be 250,000 Crowns of Gold, as ſoon as he was 14 Years of Age, who was then not ſeven; and at the ſame time the Treaty of Perpetual Peace, Amity, and Alliance was renewed and confirmed between *Maximilian* and *Henry*.

On the 17th of *December*, the Marriage between the young Prince and Princeſs was accompliſhed, (*per verba de preſenti*) the Lord *de Berghes* being Prince *Charles*'s Proxy, and as ſuch he eſpouſed the Princeſs, gave her a Ring, and ſaluted her publickly in the Name of the Prince her Spouſe.

Affairs of England.

Henry was become ſo abſolute, that no Man durſt oppoſe him, or even ſhew the leaſt Diſcontent; he laid aſide the Thoughts of calling

calling his Parliament, as he had no Pretence for asking any Aid of them ; so that, in short, that called in the Year 1504 was the last in his Reign. In the mean time his two Minions, *Empson* and *Dudley*, continued their Extortions and Oppressions with all imaginable Rigour. This very Year they sharply prosecuted Sir *William Capell*, late Lord Mayor of *London*, and fined him 2000 *l.* for that, in the Time of his Mayoralty, (which was in the Year 1503) he had received false Money from a Person accused of Coining it, and neglected to bring the Party to Justice.

This exorbitant Fine Sir *William* did not, or could not pay ; and for his Contempt, *Empson* and *Dudley* sent him to the Tower. Another Instance was that of their attacking Sir *Lawrence Aylmer*, Lord Mayor, and both his Sheriffs, fining them 1000 *l.* and, on their refusing to pay the Fine, sending them to Prison. Next they prosecuted Alderman *Harris*, who took the Treatment he met with so much to Heart, that, before the Affair he was charged with was determined, he died of Grief.

Our Historians further tell us, that several, besides those we have mentioned, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and others, were called to Account, prosecuted, and compelled to pay large Fines by *Empson* and *Dudley*, to purchase their Quietness ; who were so rapacious, as even not to suffer the Magistrates to go thro' their Offices before they fell on them, under various Pretences.

Whilst the King, with his two infamous Ministers, were thus intent upon heaping up Riches, his Majesty found himself frequently seized with the Gout, which at first he disregarded, as not believing it dangerous ; but the Humour by Degrees falling upon his Lungs, it turned to a Tiffick, which made him conceive he had not long to live. He suffered, however, his two Ministers to continue their Exactions without any Respect of Persons. 'Tis said he had amassed together one Million eight hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*, a

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Sum prodigious in those Days, which he kept under his own Key in secret Places at *Richmond*.

This Year the Sweating Sickness raged in *England*, whereof died great Numbers of People.

After the Emperor had settled his Affairs in *Flanders*, he proceeded into *Germany*, and assembled a Diet at *Constance*, where he harangued with great Vehemence, upon the *French* King's entering *Italy* with a numerous Army; the Envoys of the Pope and the *Venetians* seconded him, and represented the Danger the whole Country was in, of falling a Prey to that potent Monarch; especially as he had succeeded in his last Expedition, which increased the Alarm, and so much staggered the Diet, that they at first seemed inclinable to conclude a League with all the Princes of the Empire against *France*.

The *French* Agents at *Constance* endeavoured slyly to remove all these Suspicions, by representing, that their Prince could not do less than lead an Army into *Italy*, to subdue those who had taken Arms against him; and this Remonstrance was seconded by a considerable Distribution of Money, which abated the Heat of the warmest Opposers; and, in a Word, they further observed, that after the King had reduced *Genoa*, he immediately returned into *France* with his Army, this fully baffled the Emperor's Designs, and deprived him of the Pretence which he made use of to animate the *German* Princes against the *French*; and at last it was only decreed, that the Empire should furnish *Maximilian* with an Army of 8000 Horse and 22,000 Foot for six Months, to accommodate him in his Journey to *Rome*, in order to be crowned Emperor.

This Resolution confounded the *Venetians*; for *Maximilian* demanded a Passage thro' their Territories; and, on the other hand, the *French* Agents at *Venice* declared, in case they granted his Request, *Lewis* would break with them, representing, that their Ma-

*Maximilian
breaks with
the Veneti-
ans.*

ster could not with any Prudence forbear at such a Con-
juncture from marching an Army into *Italy*, both to
protect his Dominions and oppose the Emperor's Pro-
gress.

The Senate upon this Occasion was very much embar-
rassed, at last they informed the Emperor they were
ready to grant him a Passage thro' their States in his
Journey to *Rome*, provided he came without his Army.

This Answer was very displeasing to *Maximilian*,
and he resolved upon a new Method; having sent some
Forces to different Places, in order to leave the *Vene-*
tians in Suspence what Road he would take, he de-
manded Quarters of them for 4000 Horse at *Verona*;
they refused him, which was what he expected, and
wanted this Refusal to justify the Incurſion he de-
signed to make upon the States of that Republick.

Accordingly, being arrived at *Trent*, he declared he
would look upon all such as Enemies who opposed his
Passage; the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, his General,
thereupon seized *Cadora*; the Emperor marched thither
himself, ravaged near twenty Leagues of the Country,
took two Forts, that opened to him the Road of *Tre-*
visan: But, instead of pursuing his March, he retired
to *Inspruck*, which greatly surprized the World;
tho' it was this Prince's Custom to begin Enterprizes,
without having Patience to finish them.

In the mean time *Bartbolomew Alvian-*
no, the *Venetian* General, coming to as-
sist the invaded Country, attacked and
utterly defeated the *Germans*, retook *Ca-*
dora and the other Towns, seized some belonging to
the Emperor, after which he entered *Istria*, where
he took *Trieste*; and, for these good Services, the *Ve-*
netians received their General into *Venice* with Tri-
umph.

His Forces de-
feated by them.

The *Germans* maintained their Ground somewhat
better in the *Trentin*, where some Skirmishes passed
with various Success, till the six Months Service of the

Forces of the Empire was expired, when most of them withdrew, and left the Country in great Danger of being forced from *Maximilian*: But on this he proposed a Truce with the *Venetians*, who accepted it, and they concluded one for three Years; whereon the Tranquillity of *Italy* again flourished, and the Year 1507 expired.

*They make
a Truce.*

*Affairs of
England.
1508.*

The King, at the Opening of this Year, still found himself sensibly decline, which made him think he had not long to live. As to his intended Marriage, which the Beginning of the last Year he was so fond of, he now entirely laid it aside; his Illness increasing on him, made him think of Death more than a Wife. But, when his Health would permit, he spent his Time in the Company of the most able and learned Men that his Court produced, among whom he admitted his Chaplain *Wolsey*, and at last the King took great Delight in his Company, often advising with him in intricate Affairs; and, in order to have him nearer to his Person, he not only gave him the Deanry of *Lincoln*, but also (as some Authors aver) made him his *Almoner*, and (as others assert) one of his Privy-Council.

*Mr. Wolsey
made Dean
of Lincoln.*

Wolsey, being thus preferred by the King, resigned his Living of *Limington*; tho' Bishop *Godwyn* reports, 'That *Wolsey* resigned his Living on the Occasion of the Indignity done him by Sir *Amias Pawlet*.' But he was mistaken; for he kept it till the End of this Year, when he was made Dean of *Lincoln*, and the Year following, on the 2d of *July*, his Successor was instituted to *Limington*.

*Prince Henry
favours both
Wolsey and
Erasmus.*

Henry Prince of *Wales* was now seventeen Years of Age, and was a very beautiful, promising, hopeful young Prince, who, observing the general Respect shewed to *Wolsey*, was pleased likewise to distinguish him, and often to discourse with him Hours at a time.

Wolsey so well conducted himself on these Occasions, that the Prince took great Delight in his Company, which observing, he omitted no Opportunity of further ingratiating himself into his Highness's Favour, by regularly paying his Court to him.

Erasmus on his Part was very ambitious of keeping up a Correspondence with a young Prince of so much Expectation, several Epistles passed between them; *Henry* in particular, the latter End of this Year, wrote him an elegant *Latin* Epistle of his own inditing, and in his own Hand-writing, a Translation of which here follows.

‘ *Prince HENRY to DESIDERIUS ERASMUS, a Person
‘ of universal Learning.*

‘ *The Holy JESUS is my Hope.*

‘ Your Letter, most eloquent *Erasmus*, gives me a
‘ very great Pleasure, as it is too beautiful to have
‘ been a hasty Composition, and too plain and perspi-
‘ cuous to be the Effect of too much Diligence in so
‘ great a Genius: For it happens, I know not how,
‘ that what ingenious Men take the more Care and
‘ Pains in composing, is proportionably clouded with
‘ an affected Obscurity; for, whilst we are aiming at a
‘ greater Accuracy of Stile, we are insensibly losing
‘ the easy and intelligible Way of Writing: But this
‘ Epistle of yours is not less excellent for its Beauty,
‘ than it's Perspicuity, and shews you are a Master of
‘ every thing essential to a good Writer. But why do
‘ I attempt to praise your Elegance, whose Knowledge
‘ is celebrated thro' the World? It is far beyond my
‘ Abilities to write any thing in your Praise, that is
‘ worthy your consummate Erudition. For this Rea-
‘ son I decline writing any Encomium upon you; of
‘ whom it is much better to be entirely silent, than to
‘ say too little. As to the Report of the Death of the
‘ King of *Castile*, my very much esteemed and la-
‘ mented Brother, I was very disagreeably inform'd of

‘ it long before I received it in your Letter, and heartily wish, that it had either come much later, or that there had been less Truth in it: For, never since the Death of my most dear Mother, has any Message been brought hither that has given me a greater Affliction. And, to tell you the Truth, I paid less Regard to that Part of your Letter than its extraordinary Elegance demanded of me, because it made that Wound to bleed afresh which Time had almost healed up: Yet it is the Duty of Man to acquiesce in the Appointments of Providence. Be so good, however, as to continue your Correspondence, and write me any thing that is new, (but let it be more agreeable) worthy of relating; may God give a Blessing and Success to it.’

‘ *Richmond, Jan. 17.*’

Thus stood the Friendship of Prince *Henry* for these learned Men a little before his Father’s Death, and we shall presently see that, when he succeeded to the Crown, he did not forget neither the one nor the other, especially *Wolsey*, on whom for a Time he heaped such Honours and Preferments, that they almost surpass Imagination.

Last Year we mentioned the King’s marrying his Daughter *Mary* to the Arch-duke *Charles*, with which Alliance he was so pleased, that, in a Letter to the City of *London*, he expresses himself as if he thought he had built a Wall of Brass about his Kingdom, in having for his Sons-in-law a King of *Scotland*, and a Prince of *Castile* and *Burgundy*.

About this Time the Arch-duke *Charles* stood in need of 50,000 Crowns, and he apply’d to *Henry* for that Sum; but, tho’ he was looked upon as his Son-in-law, he could not find in his Heart to part with his Money without a Pledge; therefore, to secure the Repayment thereof, the Prince pawned to the King a Jewel called the *Rich Flower de Luce*, which weighed

weighed in Gold and precious Stones 211 Ounces and a half, an Inventory of the Jewels contained in it we have in the *Fœdera*.

It was said, that this Money was borrowed for him to make a Figure at *Cambray*, where the memorable League was soon after formed with several Potentates against the *Venetians*.

Notwithstanding *Henry* upon all Occasions shewed an immoderate Desire to heap up Riches, yet at Times he assisted his trading Subjects, for *Hall* tells us :
 ‘ *Henry* the VIIth lent the Merchants a great deal of
 ‘ Money without Gain or Profit, in order to encourage
 ‘ Trade.’

His Majesty this Year finished the fine Hospital in the *Savoy* for the Relief of the Poor, which he endowed with Land sufficient to maintain 100 Persons. This House was first called *Savoy Place*, by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, the first Builder thereof, Father to *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the 29th Year of King *Henry* the IIIrd, who created him Earl of *Richmond*; the House afterwards came to the Dukes of *Lancaster*, and by that means fell into the King’s Hands, who converted it to an Hospital; but now the Revenues of the Lands that endow’d this Hospital are apply’d to other charitable Uses, and one Part of the Hospital is made into a Prison for the Soldiers, and in the other Part are placed Barracks for the Foot Guards.

Besides this charitable Foundation, *Henry* founded three Houses for *Franciscan* Friars, which was called *Observants*; the first at *Richmond*, the second at *Greenwich*, and the third at *Newark*: He also founded three others of the same Family of *Franciscan* Friars, called *Conventuals*, at *Canterbury*, *Newcastle*, and *Southampton*, which all fell with the religious Houses in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth.

About the Beginning of *September* that worthy Prelate *Thomas Savage*, Archbishop of *York*, died, at his Castle of *Cawood*, a Peer, who, besides the Greatness of his Birth, was highly esteemed, not only for his

Fidelity to his Prince, but his great Wisdom. He laid out a considerable Sum of Money in repairing the Castle of *Carwood*, and the Manor of *Scroby*; he was interred at *York*, tho' he appointed by his Will, that his Heart should be buried in a Chancel, founded by himself, at *Macclesfield* in *Cheshire*, where he was born; and was succeeded by Dr. *Christopher Baynbridge*, who soon after repaired to *Rome*, to get his Election confirmed by the Pope, where we shall for the present leave him.

*Of the League
formed at Cam-
bray against the
Venetians.*

This League will be memorable as long as Time lasts. It's no extraordinary Thing to see several States combine against one, that is more powerful than any or all of them, either to set Bounds to her Greatness, or to bring down her exorbitant Power; but it is what very rarely happens, that several Sovereigns should confederate against one inferior State, with Design to destroy it, which was the Purport of this famous League, concluded between the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, against the Republick of *Venice*. The Event whereof may teach all States and Kingdoms not to be absolutely secure, but to fear, even where the greatest human Prudence tells them, that no Change can happen. This Republick never had been in so flourishing a Condition as then. It possesses nothing now but what it had before; but, since the Time of that League, it has lost several Provinces.

The Fleets which the Republick maintained made, as it were, one Continent of the several Parts of her Dominions; those Fleets were strong and well supported, the Arsenal, from whence they were fitted out, might justly have been reckon'd amongst the Wonders of the World; the Carpenters, in building those Ships, had a peculiar Art, that other Nations were ignorant of; (which, Heaven be prais'd! our own has now) infomuch, that every thing belong-

ing to Navigation was made and performed there in greater Perfection, than any where else ; their Seamen were the most experienced in *Christendom*, (as the *British* are now justly accounted) and, they had no Enemy to fear, but Winds and Storms ; the other maritime States of *Italy*, who had formerly disputed the Empire of the Sea with the *Venetians*, were fallen into Decay, nor did the *Turks* then understand any thing of Sea-fights.

To such a Pitch was the flourishing and extensive Trade of *Venice* arrived at that Time (having *England* on the *North*, *Egypt* and the *Black Sea* on the *South* and *East*) that they were commended and envied by all other Nations of *Europe*, (as the *Britons* are by many at this Day) and immense Sums were continually running into their publick Treasury, arising from the low and easy Duties laid on their Merchandize.

Those large Revenues enabled the Government to give their Soldiers greater Pay than other Princes and States could do, (as *Great Britain* does at this Time) and that made the best Commanders and Soldiers to court the Service of *St. Mark*, it being the highest Ambition of the *Italian* Generals to command the *Venetian* Forces.

Nor was the Publick rich by impoverishing the Subject ; Silver Plate, which was very rare in *Europe* before the Discovery of the *West Indies*, was so common among the *Venetians*, that their Enemies made it the Subject of their Invectives ; the two last Ages have not produced more sumptuous and noble Palaces, than the *Venetians* had at that Time. In short, their Affairs in general were in a very happy Situation.

Of all the Sovereign Princes that signed the League of *Cambray*, *Maximilian* was the only one the *Venetians* had reason to suspect, because that by it he had the Means of getting a great deal without hazarding the Loss of any thing ; by sharing the *Venetian* Dominions with other Princes he acquired Territories in *Italy*,

Italy, tho' indeed he stood in more need of Wealth than Dominions; for, by his exceeding Lavishness, he was so often in Want, that he obtained the Nick-name of *Maximilian the poor*. Still he was fully resolv'd to revenge himself on the *Venetians*, cost what it would: His Grounds of Complaint were many, and he had lately, as we have mentioned, received a very sensible Mortification from them; and that was not all, the whole City of *Venice* was full of satirical Prints, and Pieces of Painting, reflecting on the Emperor; the Comedians spared him not on the Stage, and the Streets rung of the insolent Ballads that were made to his Dishonour; all which, no doubt, heightened his Displeasure, since Princes often resent Injuries and Affronts done to their *Persons* more warmly than those that are done to their *Kingdoms*.

Another Piece of Indignity and Treachery the Republick put upon the Emperor was this, some few Days after the signing of the Truce, he sent to the *Venetians* to propose a League for driving *Lewis* the XIIth out of *Italy*, and dividing his Dominions in that Country between them: They listened to the Proposals, but to no other Intent, than that they may be able to give the King of *France* an exact Account of them, which they did, and then rejected his Offers.

Maximilian was always ready to sign Treaties, if he could get good Store of Gold; and therefore no one ever proposed to him the putting his Name to any such Deed, without assuring him a good round Sum of Money so soon as the Pen was out of Hand.

The Beginning of *December* the Cardinal *D'Amboise*, on the Part of his Master, King *Lewis*, arrived at *Cambray*, where he found *Madam Margaret* of *Austria*, (*Dutchess Dowager of Savoy*, Daughter and Minister of *Maximilian* her Father.) The same Confidence *Lewis* had put in the Cardinal the Emperor had placed in this Princess; who had all the Talents and Qualifications for the Management of the greatest Affairs.

The Pope's *Nuncio*, at the Court of *France*, well knew that what was proposed to be treated of at *Cambray*, was set on Foot by the Pope himself, and therefore he chearfully accompanied the Cardinal to the Congress ; but when he was desired to assist in settling the Articles, he declined it, alledging, he had no Instructions in Form concerning that Affair ; whereupon the Cardinal undertook to act both for his Master and the Pope. And tho' the *Spanish* Ambassador appeared at *Cambray*, he neither hindered nor forwarded the Negotiation, which was suitable to King *Ferdinand's* Views. In fact, the whole Negotiation was solely managed by *Madam Margaret* and the Cardinal.

In the mean while, lest the *Venetians* should be alarmed at this Congress, it was necessary to throw Dust in their Eyes. The most plausible Pretext, therefore, was thought to be that of accommodating by a formal Treaty some Differences which had lately arisen between Prince *Charles* and the Duke of *Gueldres*. To make this Trick go down the better, a Treaty with the Duke of *Gueldres* was publicly signed on the 10th of *December*, with great Ceremony ; and the very same Day the offensive League against the *Venetians* was signed, with as much Secrecy as the other was publick ; which runs thus :

' The Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of *France* and
' *Arragon*, shall mutually aid and assist each other in
' the Recovery of such Parts of their respective
' Dominions as the *Venetians* have unjustly seized, and
' possessed themselves of, that is, for the Pope the
' Towns of *Romagna* : For *Maximilian*, as Emperor,
' *Verona*, *Trevisa*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, and *Roveredo* ; and
' for him, as head of the *Austrian* Family, *Friuli* and
' *Istria* : For the King of *France*, such Part of the Do-
' minions of *Milan* as were in the Hands of the *Vene-*
' *tians* : And for the King of *Arragon*, the Five Sea-
' Ports which the *Venetians* possessed in the Kingdom
' of *Naples*.

‘ That on the 1st Day of *April*, 1509, the Pope shall publish an Interdiction against the Republick of *Venice*, the Penalty of which they shall actually incur, if within forty Days they do not restore what they have usurped and unjustly taken ; and that, on the said 1st Day of *April*, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, as also his Holiness, shall attack them with their Arms.

‘ That the Emperor, being bound by the Truce, concluded some Months ago with the *Venetians*, for three Years, shall not be obliged to break with them till forty Days after the first Hostilities committed by *France*, and forty Days after the Fulminating of the Pope’s Bull, and till the Ecclesiastical Censures and Suspensions contained in it are actually incurred by the *Venetians*. And, that the Pope may furnish the Emperor with a Reason for breaking his Oath with the Republick, his Holiness shall address a Brief to him, as Patron of the Church of *Rome*, by which he shall summons and require him to succour and assist him, for the Recovery of what justly belongs to the Holy See.

‘ That the Kings of *Hungary* and *England*, the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, shall be exhorted to enter into this Confederacy ; which shall take Place, even tho’ some of the Parties, looked upon as contracting, shall not accept.

‘ That neither the Emperor, nor his Grandson, Prince *Charles*, shall disturb or molest the King of *Spain*, during the League, nor six Months after, on account of the Revenues or Administration of *Castile*, which then belonged to *Jane*, the young Prince’s Mother.

‘ That the Emperor shall, for the Sum of 100,000 Crowns of Gold, give a new Investiture of the Dominions of *Milan* to the King of *France* ; which Investiture shall include whatsoever Parts of those Dominions.

‘ minions shall be recovered from the *Venetians*, and
 ‘ shall be to the good Liking, and according to the
 ‘ Rights of the Persons invested.

‘ That, if the *Venetians* shall engage the *Turks* to
 ‘ enter *Christendom*, then the League made against the
 ‘ *Venetians* shall be reputed as made against the *Infidels*.

‘ That the Sovereign Powers contracting should
 ‘ especially bind and oblige themselves to defend the
 ‘ *Holy See*, and to take care that all due Respect should
 ‘ be paid to it.

‘ That all those, who would be comprehended in
 ‘ this Treaty, should be obliged to ratify it in two
 ‘ Months.

‘ Finally it was agreed, that none of the Powers
 ‘ contracting should make either Peace or Truce with
 ‘ the *Venetians*, without the Consent of the rest.’ A
 Condition which Princes and States are as careful to
 have put in all their Treaties, as they are negligent to
 perform it.

This Treaty was quickly signed by the Dutchess of
Savoy, on the Part of the Emperor; and by the Car-
 dinal *D’Amboise*, on the Part of the King his Master,
 and also on the Part of the Pope, upon the Nuncio’s
 refusing to sign it.

But the *Spanish* Ambassador shewed either more
 Complaisance or more Courage in this Matter than the
 Nuncio; for tho’ the Articles in this Treaty were
 settled and agreed to without communicating any of
 them to him; yet after he had seen the Articles,
 which had procured to his Master the Sea-Ports he
 so much desired in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the
 peaceable Administration of *Castile*, and that for a
 long Time, he made no manner of Scruple to sign
 the Treaty; knowing, that King *Ferdinand* was a
 Prince accustomed to break thro’ more solemn En-
 gagements than this, whenever he found it for his
 Interest.

The Treaty was no sooner presented to *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, than they ratified it.

The Duke of *Ferrara* and the Marquis of *Mantua* entred with much Satisfaction into this League, because of the Honour that was thereby done them, and for that they were like to reap more Advantage by it, at least for the present, than inferior Princes usually find in their Alliance with their Superiors.

The Duke of *Savoy*, (for whom, as well as other Princes, a Door was still left open) delay'd coming in till *Lewis* the XIIth had been successful in several Encounters; then this Prince wrote to him to be received into the League, the Duke's Letter bearing Date the 10th of *May*, 1509, and that of the King's the 19th of the same Month: However, let the Issue be as it might, the Duke was admitted. His Grievances against the *Venetians* were founded upon his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*.

Lewis and *Maximilian* had ratified the League of *Cambray*, before it was known at *Venice* that it was signed. The Report of that Congress only alarmed some of the Senators, and they were looked on as Men whom Fear had made excessively suspicious. In the mean time their Ambassador at the *French* Court believed all that was told him by its Ministers, who now pretended great Friendship for the *Venetians*, and declared to him their Master was determined to support the Republick against all her publick and secret Enemies; and, being thus lulled asleep himself, persuaded the Senators to rest secure, by telling them, that the Republick had not a truer Friend in the World than the King of *France*. Some justify the Conduct of the *French* Ministers upon this Occasion, and say they only paid the *Venetians* in their own Coin, for the Trick they put upon *France*, in concluding a Treaty for driving the late King *Charles* the VIIIth out of *Naples*, which has been before related.

Mizerai,

Mizerai, the *French* Historian, makes the following Observation on *Lewis* the XIIth's Conduct upon entering into the League of *Cambray*.

‘ There was neither Security nor Advantage (says that Writer) for him to associate either with *Ferdinand* or *Maximilian*, who had ever been, and could not but always be, his Enemies ; nor with the Pope, who plainly discovered he hated the *French* Nation ; and who besides had the ambitious Thoughts in his Head of over-ruling all *Italy*. There was no Amity nor Confederation that he could trust to, but the *Venetians*, and there were none but they that would suffer him to be in those Countries, provided he attempted nothing against them, and would let them enjoy their Usurpations : Nevertheless, when he proposed this League in his Council, without whose Advice he never resolved on any thing, all that were present, shaping their Opinions so as to make them suit with the Hatred he had declared against the *Venetians*, rather than grounding them on the Reasons of sound and good Politicks, were for the King's joining in the League, save *Stephen Poucher*, Bishop of *Paris*, who, not able to make his Fidelity stoop to that unfaithful Complaisance, argued vehemently and rationally, that *France* could not have better Confederates in *Italy* than the *Venetians* ; and that the Society of all the rest was ruinous and destructive.’ But his Advice prevailed not, for it was judged adviseable for the King to set heartily to work, in order to obtain the End proposed by the Treaty. The first News the Senate had of the concluding the League, was by the Means of their Resident at *Milan*, which greatly surprized them. And with these different Proceedings, both at home and abroad, ended the Year 1508.

This Year was no sooner opened, but all the Princes concerned in the League of *Cambray* set 1509. about the Execution of it, the nearer the Dan-

ger

ger grew, the more sensible the *Venetians* were of the Reality and Terror of it, and they then fell on proper Measures for warding off the War, or, in case that could not be done, for defending themselves, as became a great People. The first Step therefore they took was to send to the Pope to offer him all the Conditions they had formerly refused him, and they left no Stone unturned to disunite the Emperor and the King of *Spain* from the King of *France*; but all their Efforts proved unsuccessful, each Prince, upon different Motives, were equally deaf to the Proposals of the Senate.

All the Misfortunes that usually happen in those States, which Fortune seems to have abandoned, fell heavy at this Time on the Republick of *Venice*. Whether by Chance, or by Treachery is uncertain, but their Arsenal was set on fire, and a great Part of it burnt down; and those, who used to take Arms for their Defence, listed themselves in the Service of their Enemies.

However, the *Venetians* assembled an Army of 40,000 Foot, a numerous Body of Light-horse, and 3000 Men at Arms, and made the Count *de Pitigliana* General of the Whole, and *Bartholomew Alviano* Lieutenant-general. It was but a small Part of this Army that was sent into Garrison in the Places they possessed in *Naples* and *Romagna*, because their Fleet, that was ready to put to Sea upon the first Orders, was to succour the Places that were most likely to be attacked by the two Enemies. Though the Pope's Armies were never very formidable, and the King of *Spain* had not as yet made the requisite Preparations.

As for *Maximilian*, considering that his Manner was to threaten long before he gave the Blow, and that there was little Appearance of his falling upon them before the latter End of *May*, the *Venetians* thought it adviseable to send only some Militia to guard the Passes, through which he must come down into *Italy*. But

their greatest and most imminent Danger was from the King of *France*, and therefore the chief Force of the Republick was directed to that Quarter.

The King of *France* was first in the Field, he passed the *Alps* in *April*, and sent *Montjoy*, King at Arms, his Herald, to declare War upon the *Venetians* with the usual Formalities. The Marshal de *Chauumont* committed the first Act of Hostility, and passed the *Adda* with 3000 Horse, and 6000 Foot ; besieged *Trevi*, took it, and made one of the *Venetian* Proveditors Prisoners. Thus begun the most bloody War that ever *Italy* saw since the Devastation committed by the *Barbarians*.

Upon this the Pope thundered out his Bull against the *Venetians*, by which he summoned them to surrender all that they had usurped from the Holy See, on pain of Church Censures, and an Interdict upon the State. The Republick answered his Holiness by a Manifesto ; but it was too late to defend themselves by Writing.

Their Generals were not idle, but advanced to *Fontanella*, an advantageous Post, from whence they sent a large Detachment to retake *Trevi*, who succeeded in their Attack, before the *French* could come up to relieve the Place.

Though the Town had capitulated, yet the Lives of the Men, and the Chastity of the Women were left to the Mercy of the Soldiers, who, with brutish Fury, exercised all sorts of Inhumanity, as the *Venetian* Historians themselves, particularly *Bembo* and *Justiniani* own. Their Cruelty upon this Occasion raised in *Lewis* the XIIth the utmost Indignation, and caused him to lay aside his natural Benignity, and soon after he returned the Treatment : For when an Enemy affects Cruelty in the Beginning of a War, to be indulgent to them were to be cruel to a Prince's own Subjects.

Lewis no sooner knew the Fate of *Trevi*, than he resolved to go and fight the Enemy's Army, tho' he

was sure they were superior in Number to his own. In order to attack them, he was obliged to pass the *Adda*, which he did at the Bridge of *Cassana*, tho' the *Venetians* were not above five Miles from that Place.

The Event we are going to relate is of such Importance, that we think it necessary to be particular as to the Situation of the Place where it happened.

Cassana stands on the right Side of the *Adda*, upon an Eminence which commands the opposite Bank of that River, and at the Head of a Bridge, adjoining to which there is a Piece of Ground in the Form of a Semi-circle, large enough to contain a little Army. This Ground was planted with Trees, and divided by Hedges, which rendered it very commodious for Troops to intrench themselves there, in order to secure the Passage of other Troops that followed; it is also covered on the side of the *Adda* by a Canal twenty Foot broad, and six Foot deep, inclosing this Ground in the Shape of a Bow, which, joined with the Water of the *Adda*, forms *Cassana* into an Island.

The *French* did not doubt but that the Enemy had possessed themselves of the Island that lies between the River and Canal, in order to hinder their passing by the Bridge of *Cassana*; and the Marshal *de Trivulca*, who was of that Country, was positive that the *Venetians* were intrenched there; but, when he understood that the *Venetian* Generals had been so far overseen as not to possess themselves of that Post, his Surprise was such, that he could not forbear crying out, *To Day, Most Christian King, you will win the Battle!*

So soon as *Lewis* the XIIth had passed the *Adda*, he gave Orders for laying Bridges over the Canal, which inclosed the Island on the side of the *Gbiaza d' Adda*, and the same Day he encamped his Army within half a League of the Enemy.

The *Venetian* Army had *Rivolto* on their Left, and the King, seeing no Likelihood of a Battle, resolved to go and attack that Place, with a Design either to

bring the Enemy to an Engagement, or sink the Credit of their Arms, if they should look on, and see the Place taken; and, that he might not be at a Loss whatever happened, he kept one Part of his Army in Order of Battle before the Enemy's Camp, whilst he besieg'd the Town with the other. The *French* Army being thus employ'd, the Count *de Pitigliano* satisfied himself with drawing up his Troops in Readiness; upon the rising Ground they possessed, without attempting to relieve the Place, which was taken by Storm. *Lewis*, being encouraged by the Cowardice of the *Venetians*, resolved to proceed to *Vaila*, tho' he knew that in his March the Flank of his Army must be exposed to the Enemy. His Design was to make himself Master of that Post, from whence it would be no hard Matter to intercept the Enemy's receiving Succours from their Magazine of Provision at *Cremona*. *Alviano* soon fathomed their Design, and therefore a Resolution was taken to prevent it, and to reach *Vaila* before them, and thereby preserve their Communication with *Cremona*. What made this the more feasible was, that the *Venetians* might march along the Hills and rising Ground, and consequently have a shorter Cut to that Place than the *French* could have, who were obliged to keep the Road that leads by the *Adda*, from *Rivolta*; in short, the two Armies were so situated, that the *French* had the Bow, and the *Venetians* the String.

Though *Alviano*'s Project was well laid, yet it failed of the expected Success, for the Marshals *Chaumont* and *Trivulca*, who headed the Van of the *French* Troops, made them march with such Speed, that between *Agnadel* and *Vaila* they came up with the Rear of the *Venetians*, the Country thereabouts being so very woody, that *Alviano*, who commanded those Forces, never perceived the *French* till they were just at his Heels. This mightily sur-

*Battle of
Agnadel.*

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prized

prized him, and he immediately sent for the Count *de Pitigliano* to come to his Relief, finding there was no other Way, to save the Army, but fighting. In the mean time he threw his Infantry, and such as were every Moment coming in to him, into the Vineyards, and raised such Batteries as the Time would allow him upon a Bank, planting his Gendarmery and Light-horse on a Plain behind that Ground.

Chaumont having with youthful Ardour attacked the *Venetians*, before he had sufficiently view'd them, was soon repulsed with Loss: His *Swiss* were broke, while they were endeavouring to make themselves Masters of the Bank; and his Horse, while he was making them file off towards the Vineyards, were treated very roughly by the *Venetian* Infantry: But the King came up very soon with the main Body and Rear of the Army, who had heard by the Way, *That he might halt if he pleased, for his Project was defeated, and the Venetians were already Masters of Vaila.* To which he replied, *Well, then we shall have one Trouble more than we expected, which is to dislodge them:* And he directly ordered the Vineyards to be attacked by the *Gascon* Troops, and in Person led on the *Swiss* again to the Bank, being the whole Time exposed to the great and small Shot of the Enemy. All the *Italian* Authors bear witness of his extraordinary Courage on this Occasion; some Courtiers, who were obliged in Honour to follow the King, endeavoured to cloak their Fear by the specious Pretence of preserving his Person, and took a great deal of Pains to convince him of the Danger he was in: To those cowardly Gentlemen he said, *Let those who are afraid shelter themselves behind me.*

The Bank was at last carried, after it had cost the *Swiss* a great deal of Trouble. Whilst they were thus employed, the *Gascons* were carrying on their Attempt to make themselves Masters of the Vineyards; but, meeting with greater Resistance than they expected, their

their Courage began to fail them, and they were about to retreat at the very Instant the King appeared in the Field; when *la Trimoville*, pointing to his Majesty, cry'd to the Soldiers, *My brave Boys, the King sees you.* On which Words the *Gascons* resumed their Courage, became as fresh Troops, and made such a vigorous Effort, as in a Moment made them Masters of the Ground they had been disputing so long. At last the Cavalry, and the *French* Gendarmery came up close to the *Venetian* Army upon a level Ground. No sooner were the *French* in this Situation, than the *Venetians* threw down their Arms, or run away, whereby the once glorious and brave, but now disconsolate and confus'd, *Venetians* were totally defeated, their Baggage and Artillery taken, and their greatest Officers, save the Captain-general, either killed or made Prisoners; among whom was *Alviano*, who, though he was dangerously wounded in the Action, would not suffer himself to be carried off; so that, when he was brought to the King, his Face was so besmeared with Blood, it was hard to know him; and those who carried him assured that Prince, that, when they took him, he was endeavouring to rally some of his shattered Troops. *Brantome*, in his Panegyrick on this General, gives us a Circumstance that happened on his being taken Prisoner, which we think ought not to be omitted. Whilst he was paying his Respect to the King, he heard the Alarm sounded in the *French* Army, which *Lewis* had ordered to be done, to rally his Soldiers; but this Prince, making as if he was surprized at the Noise, *What*, says he, *Signior Bartolomeo, have not your Men enough of it? have they a mind to try another Bout?* Sir, reply'd *Alviano*, *If there are any more Feats of Arms to be done, your Men must fight with one another; as for our Men, you have so handled them this Day, that for a Fortnight to come you need not expect to see their Faces.*

The *Venetian* Army certainly lost this Battle thro' their Faint-heartedness, for so great was their Consternation, that the Count *de Pitigliano* could not rally those cowardly Run-a-ways, or so much as draw them together, till they had got as far as *Bressia*, which is forty Miles from the Field of Battle.

It was fought on the 14th of *May*, and *Lewis* the XIIth, according to the antient Custom of the Kings of *France*, ordered a Church to be built on the Field where the Conquest was made, and, having dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*, called it *Our Lady of Victory*, which Structure is still in being, and goes by the same Name; and no longer ago than the Year 1705, it proved a happy Augury to the *French*, who, under the Command of the Duke of *Vendosme*, beat the Imperial Army in Sight of this Church.

Wherever the *French* came the Gates were opened to them, *Bergamo*, *Bressia*, *Crema*, and all the Places of less Note, which lay in those Parts, that they were to recover by Virtue of the League of *Cambray*, received them; *Piceigh-toni* and the Towns of *Cremona* yielded likewise on the first Summons: Only the Castle of *Cremona* held out for some Time, because *Zach. Contarini*, and some other *Venetian* Nobles, who had thrown themselves into it, could not think of paying those excessive Ransoms, which they knew had been exacted from their Equals. It was thought that *Peschiera* would check the Ardour of the *French*; but the best Fortifications cannot hold out long, when they are ill defended; and therefore it was, that this Place was taken by Storm two Days after it was besieged. *Lewis* reveng'd, with the utmost Rigour, at *Peschiera* the Injury that had been done him at *Trevi* against the Laws of War, putting the Garrison to the Sword, and one Person, to strike the Example more home, of higher Rank, was hang'd over the Battlements of the Castle. Though Historians are unanimous in the Relation of this Fact, yet they disagree as to the Name

Name and Dignity of the unhappy Man, who was made such a Spectacle for the Faults of his Countrymen. Victory so attended the *French*, that their King, in the Space of fifteen Days, conquered more than fell to his Share by the Treaty of *Cambray*.

The Pope for his Part had sent into the Field an Army, which at that Time might be called considerable, consisting of 13,000 Men, of which 400 were Spear-men, commanded by the Duke of *Ferrara*, in Quality of great Standard-bearer of the Church, a Dignity the Pope had lately conferred on him, and which was not then hereditary to any Family, as it is now to that of *Farnese*. He had under him a Lieutenant-general, *Fran. Maria de Rovero*, *Julius* the Ild's Nephew, who he had lately made Duke of *Urbino*. The Cardinal Bishop of *Pavia* accompanied the Duke in Quality of Legate, who was a Man of great Merit, but one who served the Church much better in his temporal Capacity, than he edified it in his spiritual. Pope *Julius*, having an entire Confidence in him, had entrusted him with the chief Authority in the Army, his Holiness not being so fond of the Duke of *Ferrara*, as to depend entirely upon him; and his Nephew had not Experience enough to be put at the Head of such a grand Enterprize.

There were no great Exploits done by this Army, but the Success of the Battle of *Agnadel* prov'd as much to its Advantage as if it had won the Day; the Towns of *Romagna* threw open their Gates to it; the Castle of *Ravenna* was the only Place it had to take, which soon after surrendered upon Terms: But the Pope's Officers, contrary to Agreement, made them Prisoners of War; whereby *Julius* got Possession of all that he design'd to recover from the *Venetians*, by Virtue of the Treaty of *Cambray*.

The Emperor, tho' he had, according to the said Treaty, solemnly engaged to open the Campaign before the Expiration of 40 Days, reckoning from the
Day

Day that *France* began the Rupture with the *Venetians*, chose rather to remain quiet at *Trent*, where he acted no further than to receive the Oaths of Fidelity from such Places as fell to his Share by the Treaty ; and was so very negligent, that he did not so much as think of sending Garrisons into several of those Places held in his Name ; in short, all that he did towards performing the League was, the granting the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Milan* in Favour of *Lewis*, pursuant to the Treaty, and writing to the King of *France* a Letter of Thanks for his valiant Exploits ; and, to shew that he was entirely Friends with *Lewis*, he burned his red Book, in which he alledged he had kept an Account of the Injuries and Affronts he had received from the Crown of *France*.

Lewis, upon the Receipt of the Emperor's Letter, sent the Cardinal *D'Amboise* to him at *Trent*, and offered him all manner of Assistance, and likewise proposed an Interview between them, which he at first accepted of, and the Place was fixed for it ; but all of a sudden he declined it. After this the *French* King took a Tour to *Milan*, where he stay'd some Days, and then set out for *France*.

The Commanders of the Sea-ports, which the *Venetians* possessed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, (after the Defeat of their Army) readily delivered them into the Hands of his *Spanish* Majesty, who gave himself no other Trouble, than to possess himself of those Places ; for it appears he took not one Step to assist the *French*, but, like *Maximilian*, contented himself with reaping the Benefit of other Men's Labour : Thus, each of the principal Princes, that engaged in the League of *Cambray*, in a very short Time, recovered what they had proposed from the Treaty, solely by the Conduct of *Lewis* the XIIth.

The Loss of the Battle of *Agnadel* was no sooner known at *Venice*, than it was surprizing to behold the

universal

universal Alteration that appear'd in the Countenances of the People of that City, which made the greater Impression, for that they had not been used to feel such Adversities, but, on the contrary, generally carried Victory home : Their Behaviour, therefore, upon this Occasion, was like Men not accustomed to Disappointments and Misfortunes, having no Command over their Passions, which fully demonstrates, that those that have only felt Prosperity are least able to bear Affliction with Patience. They cried out even on Heaven and Earth, and exclaimed against the Instability of mortal States. Their Sorrow encreased when they considered, that, by this Loss, they were deprived of the Glory of being accounted the greatest State in *Italy*, which made them give way to Despair ; some ran crying about the Streets, whilst others stood complaining before the publick Palace, where the Elders and Senators were sitting in Council, to consider what was proper to be done under so great a Calamity ; for in Fact, the Consternation they were under within Doors was equal to that without ; and, in this Perplexity, the Senate sent Orders to their Officers, to set all the Towns in the *Terra Firma* at full Liberty, and to discharge them from the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to *St. Mark* ; and of all their Dominions in *Italy*, they reserved no more than the City of *Venice*, and the Land adjoining to their Lakes : In brief, this renowned Republick, from the highest Pitch of Power and Grandeur, was reduced to one single City, and this in less Time than twenty Days, in which deplorable Condition we shall for the present leave them, and return home.

It does not appear that our King any way interposed in this War ; for the latter Part of his Life he seems to have minded nothing but feeding his immoderate Avarice, oppressing his Subjects, by putting the Penal Laws in the utmost Force against them ; but, before the End of *February*,
he

*Affairs of
England.*

he fenfibly found his Health decay, and that he was not long for this World :

For his Majefty being troubled with the Gout, the Defluxion, at laft taking into his Breaft, wafted his Lungs ; fo that in the Spring of the Year, in particular, he had great Fits of the Phthifick : Neverthelefs he continued to attend Buſineſs as before in his Health ; but as his Illneſs encreaſed, he began more ſeriouſly to think of the World to come, and to prepare for it (as he thought) in good earneſt, by doing Acts of Charity, giving large Alms to the Poor, and diſcharging all Priſoners for Debt about the City, that lay for Fees or Debts under forty Shillings ; but ſurely the true Act of Expiation would have been to have made Reſtitution to the Oppreſſed.

Henry, hearing of the bitter Cries of his People againſt the Oppreſſion of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, and their Accomplices, partly by devout Perſons about him, and partly by publick Sermons, (the Preachers doing their Duty therein) was touched with great Remorſe for the ſame ; and ſo hardened were his two Miniſters, that tho' they could not but hear of theſe Diſtractions in the King's Conſcience, went on with as great Severity in their Exactions and Oppreſſions as ever ; but the Time ſoon after came, that they were called to a ſtrict Account for their paſt Actions, and made a publick Example of, as a Warning and Terror to Oppreſſors, who wickedly extort Money from the Subjects upon Penal Statutes, and rake after obſolete Recognizances, in order to put them in Suit, to the Diſhonour of the King their Maſter, and only for their own filthy Lucre ; but we ſhall defer ſpeaking further of it, till we enter the enſuing Reign.

Dean Wolſey's farther Preferments. Dean *Wolſey*, for ſo he was now called, had the Beginning of this Year new Preferments beſtow'd on him ; firſt, to be Prebend of *Walton Brinbold*, and then to the Prebendary of *Stow*, and every Day found that he

was

was more and more in the King's Favour ; infomuch, that he was in a fair Way to be promoted to the next vacant See ; but, before he obtained that Degree, the King died.

' The King, to crown the last Year
' of his Reign, as well as the first, (says *The Death of*
' Lord Bacon) did an Act of Piety *Henry the VIIth.*
' worthy of Imitation, for he granted a general Par-
' don ; and, tho' *Henry* could not find in his Heart to
' ease his People from the Oppressions of his infamous
' Ministers, yet he declared in his Will, *That his Mind*
' *was, that Restitution should be made of those Sums*
' *which had been unjustly taken by his Officers.* And
' thus, this *Solomon of England*, (for *Solomon* also was
' too heavy upon his People in Exactions) having
' lived fifty-two Years, and thereof reigned twenty-
' three Years and eight Months, being in perfect
' Memory, departed this Life, the 22d of *April.*'

To sum up his Majesty's Character in few Words, from the different Accounts given us by Historians, he had two Points chiefly in view ; the one to keep the Crown in his Line, and the other to accumulate Riches, in both which he succeeded. He had not any Ambition in making foreign Acquisitions, tho' he was obliged sometimes to take up Arms ; yet no Prince ever loved Peace more ; for he generally prefaced his Treaties with setting forth, *That, when Christ came into the World, Peace was sung ; and when he went out of the World, Peace was bequeathed.* He never opened his Mind but to his principal Ministers, and then only to those who were to see his Orders executed. His Ambassadors were chiefly instructed to inform themselves with the Secrets of the Courts where they resided, which they so well executed, that there was not a Prince in *Europe* had better Intelligence. *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, much of the same Temper, was extremely useful to *Henry* ; nor was it in *Ferdinand's* Power, all his Reign, to get any Advantage over him : On the contrary, *Henry*

made use of his *Spanish* Majesty to serve his own Ends ; for, by keeping a strict Correspondence with that Prince, he prevented the *French* from intermeddling in the *English* Affairs. As the Interest of other Princes consisted in different Things, so *Henry's* was principally contained in his having full Coffers : He was extremely suspicious, as those mostly are who deal much in Secrets, because they think all the World like themselves. His Wisdom consisted more in extricating himself out of Difficulties, than finding Means to avoid them. He was of a serious Temper, ever thoughtful and intent upon his Affairs, without being diverted by Pleasures ; to which he was very little addicted. He was of a Stature taller than common ; his Face long, thin, and lean, like the rest of his Body ; and in Publick appear'd very grave, which made his Subjects speak to him with Fear : He could, however, be affable, if Affairs required it. Some Historians say he was rather studious than learned ; and that what he read in his Leisure Hours was generally *French*, tho' he understood *Latin*. The City of *London* was his Paradise, for, what good Fortune soever beset him, he thought he enjoyed it not till he acquainted them with it ; but still he hardly ever remitted any Forfeiture incurred by her Magistrates. He was buried in the Chapel, built and most beautifully ornamented at his own Expence, adjoining to *Westminster-Abbey*, where is now to be seen his Tomb, with his Queen lying by him, made all of solid Brass ; to exceed this Structure there are but few, if any, in *Europe* ; the Cost of which was prodigious, and the Execution exceedingly difficult and laborious, and yet the Artift has succeeded in it to Admiration ; there is no Part of it that is not excellent, from the chief Figures to the minutest Point of the Decoration : And here we shall leave their Majesties quietly entombed, and close our *First Volume*.



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Between Page 288 and 297, the Figures 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, are duplicated thro' the mistake of the Compositor.

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